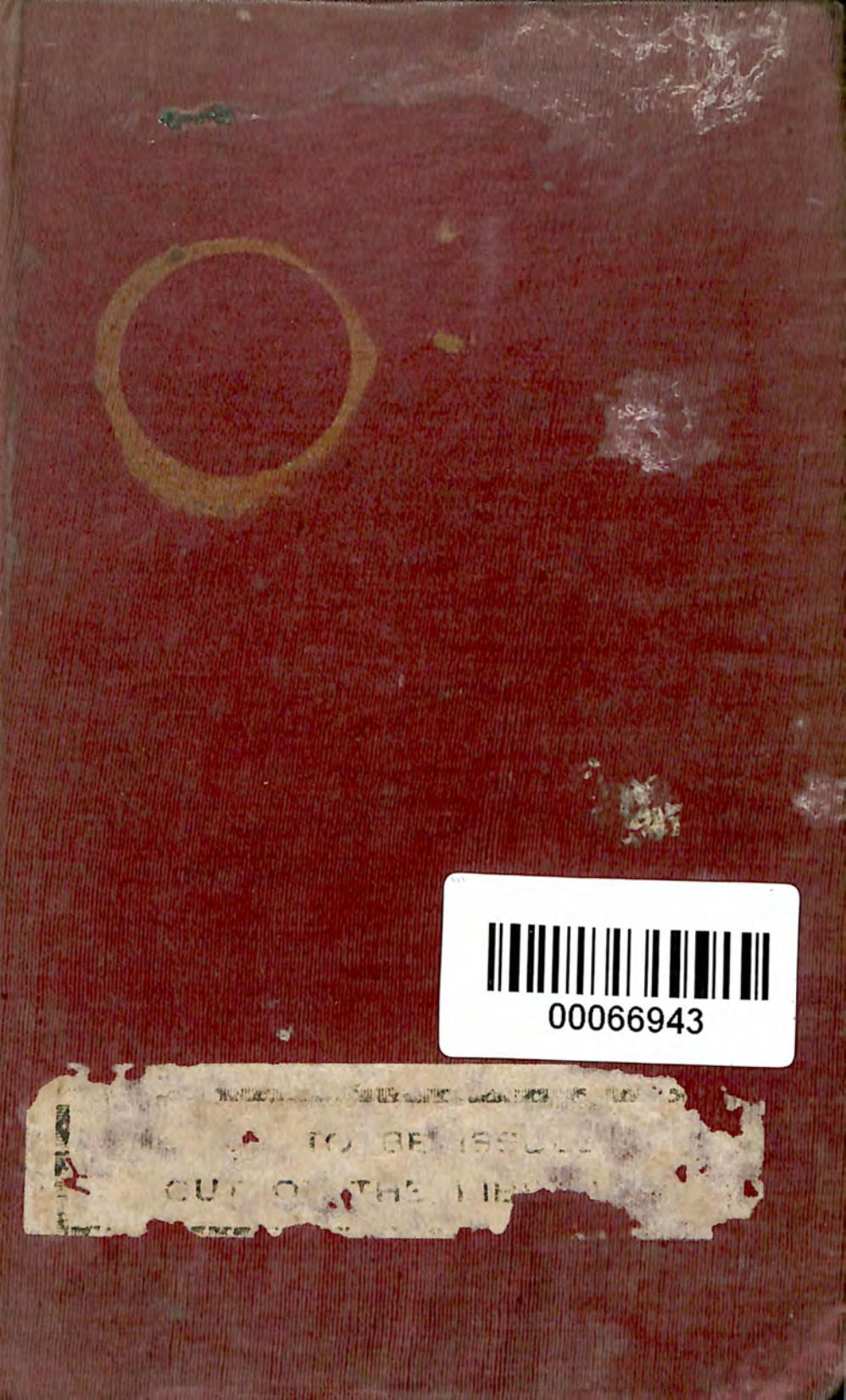
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THE
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THE WORKS

OF THAT

LEARNED AND JUDICIOUS DIVINE

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER,

CONTAINING

EIGHT BOOKS OF THE LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY,

AND

SEVERAL OTHER TREATISES;

WITH AN INDEX TO THE WHOLE.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR BY ISAAC WALTON.

A NEW EDITION.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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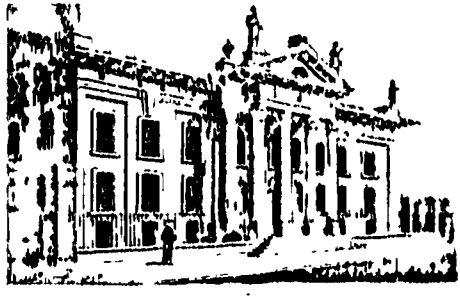

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OXFORD:

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCVII.

1807

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"IT IS VERY TRUE that the new "modelling *Eccleſiaſtical* Government was the "principal point debated in that famous diſ- "pute (which gave riſe to the following work): "but then the *Puritans* contended for that "Reformation on principles that equally con- "cluded for a Reformation in the *Civil* like- "wiſe: and this Mr. *Hooker* well underſtood, "when he took ſo much pains to overthrow "their fundamental maxim, the *Head Theorem*, "as he calls it, of their ſcheme—*That the "Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of "human actions, that ſimply whatſoever we do, "and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is "ſin.* Now who ſees not that this principle "purſued, brings on, directly and neceſſarily, a "Reformation of the *Civil* Government upon "*Jewiſh* ideas? the very error of the reformed "Miniſters of that time. This, as we ſay, was "not hid from the penetration of this great "man—*The reaſons*, (ſays he, in his Preface,)

"*wherewith*

" *wherewith you would perſuade that Scripture is*
" *the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in*
" *every reſpect as effectual for proof, that the ſame*
" *is the only Law whereby to determine all our*
" *Civil Controverſies* :—And therefore to root it
" out for ever was the main reaſon, I ſuppoſe,
" why, in a particular diſpute, he goes ſo far
" back as to give a long account of the original
" of Laws in general, their ſeveral kinds, and
" their diſtinct and contrary natures."

Bp. WARBURTON *on The Alliance between Church and State, note, p.* 46.

TO THE

KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God,

KING OF GREAT-BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

ALTHOUGH I know how little leiſure *great Kings* have to read large books, or indeed any, ſave only *God's*, (the ſtudy, belief, and obedience of which is preciſely commanded, even to *Kings*, Deut. xvii. 18, 19. and from which, whatever wholly *diverts* them, will hazard to *damn* them; there being no affairs of ſo great importance, as their ſerving *God*, and *ſaving their own ſouls*; nor any *precepts* ſo wiſe, juſt, holy, and ſafe, as thoſe of the *divine oracles*; nor any *empire* ſo glorious, as that by which *Kings*, being *ſubject to God's Law*, have *dominion* over *themſelves*, and

ſo beſt deſerve and exerciſe it over their *ſubjects*:)

Yet having lived to ſee the wonderful and happy *Reſtoration* of *your Majeſty* to *your* rightful kingdoms, and of this *reformed Church* to its juſt Rights, primitive Order, and priſtine Conſtitution, by *your Majeſty*'s prudent care, and unparalleled bounty, I know not what to preſent more worthy of *your Majeſty's* acceptance, and my duty, than theſe *elaborate* and *ſeaſonable Works* of the famous and prudent Mr. Richard Hooker, now augmented, and I hope completed, with the *Three laſt Books*, ſo much deſired, and ſo long concealed.

The publiſhing of which *Volume* ſo *entire*, and thus *preſenting* it to *your Majeſty*, ſeems to be a *bleſſing* and *honour* reſerved by God's Providence, to add a further luſtre to *your Majeſty's* glorious name, and *happy Reign*, whoſe tranſcendent favour, juſtice, merit, and munificence to the *long-afflicted Church* of England, is a ſubject no leſs worthy of admiration than gratitude to all poſterity. And of all things (next God's grace) not to be abuſed or turned into wantonneſs by any of *your Majeſty*'s Clergy, who are highly obliged, beyond all other ſubjects, to piety, loyalty, and induſtry.

I ſhall need nothing more to ingratiate this *incom-*

incomparable piece to *your Majeſty's* acceptance, and all the Engliſh world's, than thoſe high commendations it hath ever had, as from all prudent, peaceable, and impartial readers, ſo eſpecially from *your Majeſty's* Royal *Father*, who, a few days before he was *crowned with Martyrdom*, commended to *his deareſt children*, the diligent reading of Mr. Hooker's Eccleſiaſtical Polity, even next the Bible; as an excellent means to ſettle them in the *truth of Religion*, and in the *peace of this Church*, as much *Chriſtian*, and as well *Reformed* as any under Heaven: as if God had reſerved this *ſignal honour* to be done by the beſt of *Kings*, and *greateſt ſufferers* for this *Church*, to *him* who was one of the beſt *writers*, and ableſt *defenders* of it.

To this *completed Edition*, is added ſuch particular accounts as could be got of the *Author's perſon, education, temper, manners, fortunes, life*, and *death*, which is now done with much *exactneſs* and *proportion*: that hereby *your Majeſty*, and all the *world*, may ſee what ſort of men are fitteſt for *Church-work*, (which, like the building of *Solomon's* Temple, is beſt carried on with moſt *evenneſs* of judgment, and leaſt *noiſe* of paſſion.) Alſo what manner of *man* he was, to whom we all owe this *noble work*, and *durable defence*.

Which is indeed at once (as the tongues of *eloquent Princes* are to themſelves and their *ſubjects*) both a *treaſury* and an *armory*, to enrich their friends, and defend them against the enemies of the *Church* of *England*: a rare compoſition of *unpaſſionate Reaſon*, and *unpaſſionate Religion*; the mature product of a *judicious ſcholar*, a *loyal ſubject*, an *humble preacher*, and a moſt *eloquent writer*: the very *abſtract* and *quinteſſence* of *Laws human* and *divine*; a *ſummary* of the grounds, rules, and proportions of *true Polity* in *Church* and *State*: upon which clear, ſolid, and ſafe *foundations*, the good order, peace, and government of this *Church* was anciently ſettled, and on which, while it ſtands firm, it will be *flouriſhing*: all other popular and ſpecious *pretenſions* being found by late ſad experiences, to be as *novel* and *unfit*, ſo *factious* and *fallacious*, yea, dangerous and deſtructive to the *peace* and *proſperity* of this *Church* and *Kingdom*, whoſe inſeparable *happineſs* and *intereſts* are bound up in *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy*.

The politic and viſible managing of both which, God hath now graciouſly reſtored and committed to *your Majeſty's* ſovereign *wiſdom* and *authority*, after the many and long *tragedies* ſuffered from thoſe *club-maſters* and *tub-miniſters*, who ſought not fairly to obtain *reformation* of what might ſeem amiſs, but violently and

and wholly to overthrow the ancient and goodly *fabric* of this *Church* and *Kingdom*. For finding themſelves not able in many years to *anſwer this one Book*, long ago written in defence of the truth, order, government, authority, and liberty (in things indifferent) of this *reformed Church*, agreeable to *right Reaſon* and *true Religion*, (which makes this well-tempered piece, a file capable to break the *teeth* of any that venture to bite it;) they conſpired at laſt to betake themſelves to *arms*, to kindle thoſe horrid fires of *civil wars*, which this wiſe Author foreſaw, and foretold, in his admirable Preface, would follow thoſe *ſparks* and that *ſmoke* which he ſaw riſe in his *days*: ſo that from *impertinent diſputes* (ſeconded with *ſcurrilous pamphlets*) they fled to *tumults*, *ſedition*, *rebellion*, *ſacrilege*, *parricide*, yea, *regicide*; *counſels*, *weapons*, and *practices*, certainly no way becoming the hearts and hands of *Chriſtian ſubjects*, nor ever ſanctified by *Chriſt* for his ſervice, or his *Church's* good.

What now remains, but *your Majeſty's* perfecting and preſerving that (in this *Church*) which you have with much prudence and tenderneſs ſo *happily* begun and proſecuted, with more *zeal* than the eſtabliſhment of *your* own *throne*. The ſtill *crazy Church* of England, together with this *Book*, (its great and impregnable *ſhield*,) do further need, and humbly implore,

plore, *your Majeſty's* royal protection under *God*; nor can *your Majeſty* by any generous influence and perſeverance (moſt worthy of a *Chriſtian King*) more expreſs that pious and grateful zeal which *God* and all good men expect from *your Majeſty*, as ſome retribution for his many *miraculous mercies* to yourſelf, than in a wiſe, ſpeedy, and happy ſettling of our *religious peace*; with the leaſt *grievance*, and moſt *ſatisfaction* to all *your good ſubjects*; *ſacred order* and *uniformity* being the *centre* and *circumference* of our *civil tranquillity*; *Sedition* naturally riſing out of *Schiſm*, and *Rebellion* out of *Faction*: the only cure and antidote againſt both, are good *Laws* and *Canons*, firſt wiſely made, with all *Chriſtian moderation*, and *ſeaſonable charity*; next, duly executed with juſtice and impartiality; which ſober ſeverity is indeed the *greateſt charity* to the public. Whoſe verity, unity, ſanctity, and ſolemnity in religious concernments, being once duly *eſtabliſhed*, muſt not be ſhaken, or ſacrificed to any private varieties and extravagancies. Where the internals of doctrine, morality, myſteries, and evangelical duties, being (as they are in the *Church* of England) ſound and ſacred, the externals of decent forms, circumſtances, rites and ceremonies, being ſubordinate and ſervient to the main, cannot be either evil or unſafe, neither offenſive to *God* nor good *Chriſtians*.

For

For the attaining of which *bleſſed ends* of piety and peace, that the ſacred *ſun* and *ſhield* of the *divine Grace* and *Power* directing and protecting, may ever ſhine upon *your Majeſty's* perſon and family, counſels and power, is the humble prayer of

Your Sacred Majeſty's

Moſt loyal Subject,

And devoted Servant,

JOH. EXON.

TO THE

READER.

I THINK it neceſſary to inform my Reader, that Dr. Gauden (the late Biſhop of Worceſter) hath alſo lately wrote and publiſhed the life of Maſter Hooker. And though this be not writ by deſign to oppoſe what he hath truly written; yet I am put upon a neceſſity to ſay, that in it there be many material miſtakes, and more omiſſions. I conceive ſome of his miſtakes did proceed from a belief in Maſter Thomas Fuller, who had too haſtily publiſhed what he hath ſince moſt ingenuouſly retracted. And for the Biſhop's omiſſions, I ſuppoſe his more weighty buſineſs, and want of time, made him paſs over many things without that due examination, which my better leiſure, my diligence, and my accidental advantages, have made known unto me.

And now for myſelf, I can ſay, I hope, or rather know, there are no material miſtakes in what I here preſent to you that ſhall become my Reader. Little things that I have received by tradition, (to which there may be too much and too little faith given,) I will not at this diſtance of time undertake to juſtify; for

for though I have uſed great diligence, and compared relations and circumſtances, and probable reſults and expreſſions; yet I ſhall not impoſe my belief upon my Reader; I ſhall rather leave him at liberty: but if there ſhall appear any material omiſſion, I deſire every lover of truth and the memory of Maſter Hooker, that it may be made known unto me. And to incline him to it, I here promiſe to acknowledge and rectify any ſuch miſtake in a ſecond impreſſion, which the printer ſays he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) endeavours may become a better monument, and in ſome degree more worthy the memory of this venerable man.

I confeſs, that when I conſider the great learning and virtue of Maſter Hooker, and what ſatisfaction and advantages many eminent ſcholars and admirers of him have had by his labours; I do not a little wonder, that in ſixty years no man did undertake to tell poſterity of the excellencies of his life and learning, and the accidents of both; and ſometimes wonder more at myſelf, that I have been perſuaded to it; and indeed I do not eaſily pronounce my own pardon, nor expect that my Reader ſhall, unleſs my Introduction ſhall prove my Apology, to which I refer him.

A COPY

A

COPY OF A LETTER

WRITTEN TO MR. WALTON,

BY DR. KING, LORD BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

HONEST ISAAC,

THOUGH a familiarity of forty years continuance, and the conſtant experience of your love, even in the worſt times, be ſufficient to endear our friendſhip; yet I muſt confeſs my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private reſpect to thoſe very many that know and love you, but by your new demonſtration of a public ſpirit, teſtified in a diligent, true, and uſeful collection of ſo many material paſſages as you have now afforded me in the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker; of which, ſince deſired by ſuch a friend as yourſelf, I ſhall not deny to give the teſtimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books; but ſhall firſt here take a fair occaſion to tell you, that you have been happy in chooſing to write the Lives of three ſuch perſons, as poſterity hath juſt cauſe to honour; which they will do the more for the true relation of them by your happy pen; of all which I ſhall give you my unfeigned cenſure.

I ſhall begin with my moſt dear and incomparable friend Dr. Donne, late Dean of St. Paul's Church, who not only truſted me as his executor, but three days

days before his death delivered into my hands thoſe excellent Sermons of his which are now made public; profeſſing before Dr. Winniff, Dr. Montford, and, I think, yourſelf then preſent at his bed-ſide, that it was by my reſtleſs importunity that he had prepared them for the preſs; together with which (as his beſt legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other papers, containing an Extract of near fifteen hundred Authors. How theſe were got out of my hands, you, who were the meſſenger for them, and how loſt both to me and yourſelf, is not now ſeaſonable to complain; but, ſince they did miſcarry, I am glad that the general demonſtration of his worth was ſo fairly preſerved, and repreſented to the world by your pen in the Hiſtory of his Life; indeed ſo well, that, beſide others, the beſt critic of our later time (Mr. John Hales, of Eaton College) affirmed to me, *He had not ſeen a Life written with more advantage to the ſubject, or more reputation to the writer, than that of Dr. Donne's.*

After the performance of this taſk for Dr. Donne, you undertook the like office for our friend Sir Henry Wotton, betwixt which two there was a friendſhip begun in Oxford, continued in their various travels, and more confirmed in the religious friendſhip of age, and doubtleſs this excellent perſon had writ the Life of Dr. Donne, if death had not prevented him: by which means, his and your pre-collections for that work fell to the happy manage of your pen: a work, which you would have declined, if imperious perſuaſions had not been ſtronger than your modeſt reſolutions againſt it. And I am thus far glad, that the firſt Life was ſo impoſed upon you, becauſe it gave an unavoidable cauſe of writing the ſecond: if not, it is too probable we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of honour and ingenious learning. And let me not leave my friend Sir Henry without this teſtimony added to your's, that he was a man of as florid a wit, and elegant a pen, as

any

any former, or our's, which in that kind is a moſt excellent age, hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary obſervation of our two deceaſed friends, I proceed to ſatisfy your deſire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. Hooker, who was *Schiſmaticorum malleus*, ſo great a champion for the Church of England's rights, againſt the factious torrent of Separatiſts that then ran high againſt Church-Diſcipline, and in his unanſwerable Books continues ſtill to be ſo againſt the unquiet Diſcipline of their Schiſm, which now under other names carry on their deſign; and who (as the proper heirs of their irrational zeal) would again rake into the ſcare-cloſed wounds of a newly bleeding *State* and *Church*.

And firſt, though I dare not ſay I knew Mr. Hooker; yet, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory reports to the honour of Ignatius, that he lived in the time of St. John, and had ſeen him in his childhood; ſo I alſo joy, that in my minority I have often ſeen Mr. Hooker, with my father, then Lord Biſhop of London; from whom, and others at that time, I have heard moſt of the material paſſages which you relate in the Hiſtory of his Life; and from my father received ſuch a character of his *learning*, *humility*, and other virtues, that, like jewels of unvaluable price, they ſtill caſt ſuch a luſtre, as envy or the ruſt of time ſhall never darken. From my father I have alſo heard all the circumſtances of the plot to defame him; and how Sir Edwin Sandys outwitted his accuſers, and gained their confeſſion; and could give an account of each particular of that plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the ſame grave with the malicious authors. I may not omit to declare, that my father's knowledge of Mr. Hooker was occaſioned by the learned Dr. John Spencer, who after the death of Mr. Hooker was ſo careful to preſerve his unvaluable ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth Books of *ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, and his other Writings, that he

he procured Henry Jackſon, then of Corpus Christi College, to tranſcribe for him all Mr. Hooker's remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his ſtudy had been rifled or worſe uſed by Mr. Chark, and another of principles too like his: but as theſe papers were, they were endeavoured to be completed by his dear friend Dr. Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whoſe death they reſted in my hand, till Dr. Abbot, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my cuſtody, authoriſing Dr. John Barkham (his Lordſhip's Chaplain) to require and bring them to him to Lambeth: at which time I have heard they were put into the Biſhop's Library, and that they remained there till the martyrdom of Archbiſhop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with the Library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Church's confuſion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them ſpeak that language, for which the faction then fought; which was, *to ſubject the ſovereign power to the people.* I need not ſtrive to vindicate Mr. Hooker in this particular; his known loyalty to his Prince whilſt he lived, the ſorrow expreſſed by King James for his death; the value our late Sovereign (of ever-bleſſed memory) put upon his Works, and now the ſingular character of his worth given by you in the paſſages of his Life, (eſpecially in your Appendix to it,) do ſufficiently clear him from that imputation: and I am glad you mention how much value Robert Stapleton, Pope Clement the Eighth, and other eminent men of the Romiſh perſuaſion, have put upon his Books, having been told the ſame in my youth by perſons of worth that have travelled Italy. Laſtly, I muſt again congratulate this undertaking of Your's, as now more proper to you than any other perſon, by reaſon of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy

worthy family of the Cranmers, (my old friends alſo,) who have been men of noted wiſdom, eſpecially Mr. George Cranmer, whoſe prudence, added to that of Sir Edwin Sandys, proved very uſeful in the completing of Mr. Hooker's matchleſs Books; one of their Letters I herewith ſend you to make uſe of, if you think fit. And let me ſay further, you merit much from many of Mr. Hooker's beſt friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archbiſhop Whitgift, of whoſe incomparable worth, with the character of the times, you have given us a more ſhort and ſignificant account than I have received from any other pen. You have done much for Sir Henry Savile, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongſt the ſurviving monuments of whoſe learning (give me leave to tell you ſo) two are omitted; his Edition of *Euclid*; but eſpecially his Tranſlation of King *James his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, into elegant Latin; which flying in that dreſs as far as Rome, was by the Pope and Conclave ſent unto Franciſcus Suarez to Salamanca, (he then reſiding there as Preſident of that College,) with a command to anſwer it. When he had perfected the work, (which he calls *Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ*,) it was tranſmitted to Rome for a view of the Inquiſitors; who, according to their cuſtom, blotted out what they pleaſed, and (as Mr. Hooker hath been uſed ſince his death) added whatſoever might advance the Pope's Supremacy, or carry on their own intereſt, commonly coupling together *deponere* & *occidere*, the depoſing and killing of Princes; which cruel and unchriſtian language Mr. John Saltkell (his *amanuenſis*, when he wrote at Salamanca; but ſince a convert, living long in my father's houſe) often profeſſed, the good old man (whoſe piety and charity Mr. Saltkell magnified much) not only diſavowed, but deteſted. Not to trouble you further, your Reader (if, according to your deſire, my approbation of your work carries any weight) will find many juſt reaſons to thank you for it, and for this circumſtance

circumſtance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

SIR,

Your ever faithful and affectionate old Friend,

HENRY CHICHESTER

CHICHESTER,
Nov. 12. 16.

THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE been perſuaded by a Friend, that I ought to obey, to write The Life of RICHARD HOOKER, *the happy Author of five (if not more) of the eight learned Books of* The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. *And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with ſome unwillingneſs, foreſeeing that it muſt prove to me, and eſpecially at this time of my age, a work of much labour to inquire, conſider, reſearch, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his life, and muſt therefore not only look back to his death, (now ſixty-four years paſt,) but almoſt fifty years beyond that, even to his childhood and youth, and gather thence ſuch obſervations and prognoſticks, as may at leaſt adorn, if not prove neceſſary for the completing of what I have undertaken.*

This trouble I foreſee, and foreſee alſo that it is impoſſible to eſcape cenſures; againſt which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I conſider the age in which I live,) and ſhall therefore but intreat of my Reader a ſuſpenſion of them, till I have made known unto him ſome reaſons, which, I myſelf would now fain believe,

do make me in ſome meaſure fit for this undertaking: and if theſe reaſons ſhall not acquit me from all cenſures, they may at leaſt abate of their ſeverity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My reaſons follow.

About forty years paſt (for I am now in the ſeventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, (now with God,) grand nephew unto the great Archbiſhop of that name; a family of noted prudence and reſolution; with him and two of his ſiſters I had an entire and free friendſhip: one of them was the wife of Dr. Spencer, a boſom-friend, and ſometime com-pupil with Mr. Hooker in Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and after Preſident of the ſame. I name them here, for that I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in this following diſcourſe; as alſo their brother, of whoſe uſeful abilities my Reader may have a more authentic teſtimony than my pen can purchaſe for him, by that of our learned Cambden and others.

This William Cranmer, and his two fore-named ſiſters, had ſome affinity, and a moſt familiar friendſhip with Mr Hooker, and had had ſome part of their education with him in his houſe, when he was Parſon of Biſhop's-Bourn near Canterbury; in which city their good father then lived. They had (I ſay) a great part of their education with him, as myſelf, ſince that time, a happy cohabition with them; and having ſome years before read part of Mr. Hooker's Works with great liking and ſatisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent inquiſitor into many things that concerned him; as namely of his perſon, his nature, the management of his time, his wife, his family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my conſideration, and intended for the ſatisfaction of my Reader.

I had alſo a friendſhip with the [illegible] Uſher, the late learned Archbiſh[illegible] Doctor Morton, the late learned [illegible] Durham; as alſo with the learn[illegible]

College; and with them alſo (who loved the very name of Mr. Hooker) I have had many diſcourſes concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off mortality, I might have had more informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitneſs for what by perſuaſion I have now undertaken. But, though that full harveſt be irrecoverably loſt, yet my memory hath preſerved ſome gleanings, and my diligence made ſuch additions to them, as I hope will prove uſeful to the completing of what I intend. In the diſcovery of which I ſhall be faithful, and with this aſſurance put a period to my Introduction.

THE LIFE.

His birth and youth.

IT is not to be doubted, but that Richard Hooker was born within the precincts, or in the city of Exeter. A city which may juſtly boaſt, that it was the birth-place of him and Sir Thomas Bodley; as indeed the county may, in which it ſtands, that it hath furniſhed this nation with Biſhop Jewel, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and many others memorable for their valour and learning. He was born about the year of our redemption one thouſand five hundred fifty and three; and of parents that were not ſo remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and induſtry, and God's bleſſing upon both; by which they were enabled to educate their children in ſome degree of learning, of which our Richard Hooker may appear to be one fair teſtimony; to tell that nature is not ſo partial as always to give the greater bleſſings of wiſdom and learning, and with them the greater bleſſings of virtue and government, to thoſe only that are of a more high and honourable birth.

His complexion (if we may gueſs by him at the age of forty) was ſanguine, with a mixture of choler; and yet his motion was ſlow, even in his youth, and ſo was his ſpeech, never expreſſing an earneſtneſs in either of them, but a gravity ſuitable to the aged. And it is obſerved (ſo far as inquiry is able to look back at this diſtance of time) that at his being a ſchool-boy, he was an early queſtioniſt, quietly inquiſitive, *Why this was, and that was not, to be remembered? Why this was granted, and that denied?* This being mixt with a remarkable modeſty, and a ſweet ſerene quietneſs of nature; and with them a quick apprehenſion of many perplexed parts of learning, impoſed then upon him as a ſcholar, made his maſter and others to believe him to have an inward bleſſed divine light, and therefore to conſider him to a little wonder. For in that, children were leſs pregnant, leſs confident, and more malleable, than in this wiſer, but not better age.

This meekneſs and conjuncture of knowledge, with modeſty in his converſation, being obſerved by his ſchool-maſter, cauſed him to perſuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at ſchool till he could find out ſome means, by perſuading his rich uncle, or ſome other charitable perſon, to eaſe them of a part of their care and charge; aſſuring them, that their ſon was ſo enriched with the bleſſings of nature and grace, that God ſeemed to ſingle him out as a ſpecial inſtrument of his glory. And the good man told them alſo, that he would double his diligence in inſtructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward than the content of ſo hopeful and happy an employment.

This was not unwelcome news, and eſpecially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child; and all parties were ſo pleaſed with this propoſal, that it was reſolved *ſo it ſhould be*. And in the mean time his parents and maſter laid a foundation for his future happineſs,

happineſs, by inſtilling into his ſoul the *ſeeds of piety*, thoſe conſcientious principles of *loving and fearing God*; of *an early belief, that he knows the very ſecrets of our ſouls*; *that he puniſheth our vices, and rewards our innocence*; *that we ſhould be free from hypocriſy, and appear to man, what we are to God, becauſe firſt or laſt the crafty man is catched in his own ſnare.* Theſe ſeeds of piety were ſo ſeaſonably planted, and ſo continually watered with the daily dew of God's bleſſed Spirit, that his infant virtues grew into ſuch holy habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man; which with the great learning that he did attain to, hath made Richard Hooker honoured in this, and will continue him to be ſo to ſucceeding generations.

This good ſchool-maſter, whoſe name I am not able to recover, (and am ſorry, for that I would have given him a better memorial in this humble monument, dedicated to the memory of his ſcholar) was very ſolicitous with John Hooker, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to our Richard, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the Univerſity, and in the mean time to uſe his endeavours to procure an admiſſion for him into ſome College; ſtill urging and aſſuring him that his charge would not continue long; for the lad's learning and manners were both ſo remarkable, that they muſt of neceſſity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him ſome ſecond patron, that would free him and his parents from their future care and charge.

Theſe reaſons, with the affectionate rhetoric of his good maſter, and God's bleſſing upon both, procured from his uncle a faithful promiſe, that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This promiſe was made about the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary; and the learned John Jewel (after Biſhop of Saliſbury) having been in the

firſt of this Queen's reign expelled out of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, (of which he was a Fellow,) for adhering to the truth of thoſe principles of Religion, to which he had aſſented in the days of her brother and predeceſſor, Edward the ſixth; and he having now a juſt cauſe to fear a more heavy puniſhment than expulſion, was forced, by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another nation, and, with that ſafety, the enjoyment of that doctrine and worſhip for which he ſuffered.

But the cloud of that perſecution and fear ending with the life of Queen Mary, the affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; ſo that he, and many others of the ſame judgment, made a happy return into England about the firſt of Queen Elizabeth; in which year this John Jewel was ſent a commiſſioner or viſitor of the churches of the weſtern parts of this kingdom, and eſpecially of thoſe in Devonſhire, in which county he was born; and then and there he contracted a friendſhip with John Hooker, the uncle of our Richard.

In the third year of her reign, this John Jewel was made Biſhop of Saliſbury; and there being always obſerved in him a willingneſs to do good and oblige his friends, and now a power added to it; John Hooker gave him a viſit in Saliſbury, *and beſought him for charity's ſake to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a ſcholar but the eſtate of his parents was ſo narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning; and that the Biſhop would therefore become his patron, and prevent him from being a tradeſman; for he was a boy of remarkable hopes.* And though the Biſhop knew men do not uſually look with an indifferent eye upon their own children and relations, yet he attended ſo far to John Hooker, that he appointed both the boy and his ſchool-maſter ſhould attend him about Eaſter next following at that place, which was done accordingly; and then, after ſome queſtions had obſervations

ſervations of the boy's learning, and gravity, and behaviour, the Biſhop gave the ſchool-maſter a reward, and took order for an annual penſion for the boy's parents, promiſing alſo to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the fourteenth year of his age, which was anno 1567, he was by the Biſhop appointed to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Doctor Cole, then Preſident of Corpus Chriſti College; which he did; and Doctor Cole had (according to a promiſe made to the Biſhop) provided for him both a tutor (which was ſaid to be the learned Doctor John Reynolds) and a clerk's place in that College: which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his uncle, and the continued penſion of his patron, the good Biſhop, gave him a comfortable ſubſiſtence. And in this condition he continued unto the eighteenth year of his age, ſtill increaſing in learning and prudence, and ſo much in humility and piety, that he ſeemed to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and even, like St. John Baptiſt, to be ſanctified from his mother's womb; who did often bleſs the day in which ſhe bare him.

Admitted into Corpus Chriſti College, Oxon.

Bp. Jewel his Patron.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous ſickneſs, which laſted two months: all which time, his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly prayers as earneſtly beg his life of God, as the mother of St. Auguſtine did, that he might become a true Chriſtian; and their prayers were both ſo heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, *and pray that he might never live to occaſion any ſorrow to ſo good a mother; whom, he would often ſay, he loved ſo dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her ſake, as for his own.*

As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered from his ſickneſs, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to ſatisfy and ſee his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College,

lege, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or want of money, or their humility made it ſo: but on foot they went, and took Saliſbury in their way, purpoſely to ſee the good Biſhop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boaſted of with much joy and gratitude when he ſaw his mother and friends: and at the Biſhop's parting with him, the Biſhop gave him good counſel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money; which when the Biſhop had conſidered, he ſent a ſervant in all haſte to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return, the Biſhop ſaid to him, *Richard, I ſent for you back to lend you a horſe which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much eaſe.* And preſently delivered into his hand a walking-ſtaff, with which he profeſſed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he ſaid, *Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horſe; be ſure you be honeſt, and bring my horſe back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I ſend her a Biſhop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horſe back to me, I will give you ten groats more, to carry you on foot to the College: and ſo God bleſs you, good Richard.*

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and charitable patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, ſo he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both ſo zealouſly, that it became a religious queſtion, *Whether his laſt ejaculations, or his ſoul, did firſt enter into heaven?*

And now Mr. Hooker became a man of ſorrow and fear: of ſorrow, for the loſs of ſo dear and comfortable a patron; and of fear, for his future ſubſiſtence

ence. But Mr. Cole raiſed his ſpirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his ſtudies, and aſſuring him, that he ſhould neither want food nor raiment, (which was the utmoſt of his hopes,) for he would become his patron.

And ſo he was for about nine months, or not much longer; for about that time the following accident did befal Mr. Hooker.

Edwin Sandys (then Biſhop of London, and after Archbiſhop of York) had alſo been in the days of Queen Mary forced, by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another nation; where, for many years, Biſhop Jewel and he were companions at bed and board in Germany; and where, in this their exile, they did often eat the bread of ſorrow, and by that means they there began ſuch a friendſhip, as time did not blot out, but laſted till the death of Biſhop Jewel, which was one thouſand five hundred ſeventy and one. A little before which time the two Biſhops meeting, Jewel began a ſtory of his Richard Hooker, and in it gave ſuch a character of his learning and manners, that though Biſhop Sandys was educated in Cambridge, where he had obliged, and had many friends; yet his reſolution was, that his ſon Edwin ſhould be ſent to Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr. Hooker, though his ſon Edwin was then almoſt of the ſame age: for the Biſhop ſaid, *I will have a tutor for my ſon, that ſhall teach him learning by inſtruction, and virtue by example; and my greateſt care ſhall be of the laſt, and (God willing) this Richard Hooker ſhall be the man, into whoſe hands I will commit my Edwin.* And the Biſhop did ſo about twelve months after this reſolution.

And doubtleſs, as to theſe two, a better choice could not be made: for Mr. Hooker was now in the nineteenth year of his age; had ſpent five [illegible] Univerſity; and had, by a conſtant unwearied diligence, attained unto a perfection in all the learned lang[illegible]

languages; by the help of which, an excellent tutor, and his unintermitted ſtudy, he had made the ſubtilty of all the arts eaſy and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch learning as lay hid from common ſearchers. So that by theſe added to his great reaſon, and his induſtry added to both, *he did not only know more of cauſes and effects, but what he knew, he knew better than other men.* And with this knowledge he had a moſt bleſſed and clear method of demonſtrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, (which in time were many,) but eſpecially to his two firſt, his dear Edwin Sandys, and his as dear George Cranmer; of which there will be a fair teſtimony in the enſuing relation.

This for his learning. And for his behaviour, amongſt other teſtimonies, this ſtill remains of him, that in four years he was but twice abſent from the Chapel-prayers; and that his behaviour there was ſuch as ſhewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worſhipped and prayed to; giving all outward teſtimonies that his affections were ſet on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards God; and for that to man, it is obſervable, that he was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extreme in any of his deſires; never heard to repine or diſpute with Providence, but, by a quiet gentle ſubmiſſion and reſignation of his will to the wiſdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely word: and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence unto his perſon, even from thoſe that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to caſt off that ſtrictneſs of behaviour and diſcourſe that is required in a collegiate life. And when he took any liberty to be pleaſant, his wit was never blemiſhed with ſcoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looſeneſs in his hearers.

Thus

Thus innocent and exemplary was his behaviour in his College; and thus this good man continued till death; ſtill increaſing in learning, in patience, and piety.

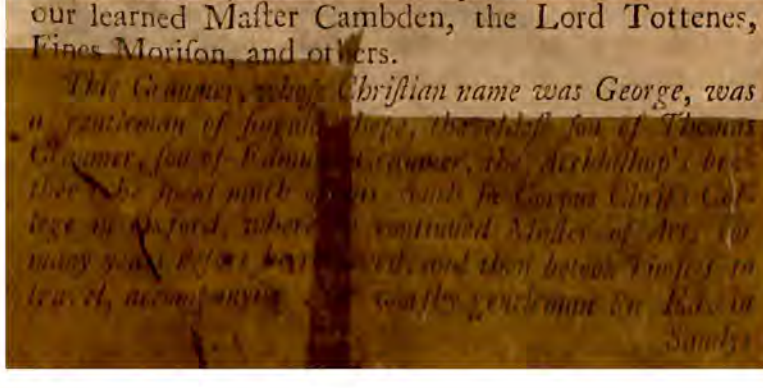
In this nineteenth year of his age, he was choſen, December 24, 1573, to be one of the twenty Scholars of the Foundation; being elected and admitted as born in Devonſhire; (out of which county a certain number are to be elected in vacancies by the Founder's Statutes.) And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent library, ſtrict ſtudents, and remarkable ſcholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Biſhop Jewel, Dr. John Reynolds, and Dr. Thomas Jackſon, of that foundation. The firſt, famous by his learned Apology for the Church of England, and his Defence of it againſt Harding. The ſecond, for the learned and wiſe manage of a public diſpute with John Hart, of the Roman perſuaſion, about the Head and Faith of the Church, then printed by conſent of both parties. And the third, for his moſt excellent Expoſition of the Creed, and for his other Treatiſes; all ſuch as have given greateſt ſatisfaction to men of the greateſt learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his learning, than for his ſtrict and pious life, teſtified by his abundant love and charity to all.

In the year 1576, February 23, Mr. Hooker's Grace was given him for Inceptor of Arts; Dr. Herbert Weſtphaling, a man of noted learning, being then Vice-Chancellor, and the Act following he was completed Maſter, which was anno 1577, his patron, Dr. Cole, being that year Vice-Chancellor, and his dear friend, Henry Savil of Merton College, then one of the Proctors. It was that Henry Savil, that was after Sir Henry Savil, Warden of Merton College, and Provoſt of Eaton: he which founded in Oxford two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir Henry Savil

Savil that tranſlated and enlightened the Hiſtory of Cornelius Tacitus, with a moſt excellent comment; and enriched the world by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcattered pieces of St. Chryſoſtom, and the publication of them in one entire body in Greek; in which language he was a moſt judicious critic. It was this Sir Henry Savil that had the happineſs to be a contemporary; and a moſt familiar friend to our Richard Hooker, and let poſterity know it.

And in this year of 1577, he was choſen Fellow of the College: happy alſo in being the contemporary and friend of Dr. John Reynolds, of whom I have lately ſpoken, and of Dr. Spencer; both which were after, and ſucceſſively, made Preſidents of his College: men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

Nor was Mr. Hooker more happy in his contemporaries of his time and College, than in the pupilage and friendſhip of his Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer; of whom my Reader may note, that this Edwin Sandys was after Sir Edwin Sandys, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ* as his brother George for making poſterity beholden to his pen by a learned Relation and Comment on his dangerous and remarkable Travels; and for his harmonious Tranſlation of the Pſalms of David, the Book of Job, and other poetical parts of Holy Writ, into moſt high and elegant verſe. And for Cranmer, his other pupil, I ſhall refer my Reader to the printed teſtimonies of our learned Maſter Cambden, the Lord Tottenes, Fines Moriſon, and others.



Sandys into France, Germany, and Italy, for the ſpace of three years; and after their happy return, he betook himſelf to an employment under Secretary Daviſon: after whoſe fall, he went in place of Secretary with Sir Henry Killegrew in his embaſſage into France; and after his death he was ſought after by the moſt noble Lord Mountjoy, with whom he went into Ireland, where he remained, until, in a battle againſt the Rebels near Charlinford, an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him.

Betwixt Mr. Hooker and theſe his two pupils, there was a ſacred friendſhip; a friendſhip made up of religious principles, which increaſed daily by a ſimilitude of inclinations to the ſame recreations and ſtudies; a friendſhip elemented in youth, and in an Univerſity, free from ſelf-ends, which the friendſhips of age uſually are not. In this ſweet, this bleſſed, this ſpiritual amity, they went on for many years: and, as the holy Prophet ſaith, ſo *they took ſweet counſel together, and walked in the houſe of God as friends.* By which means they improved it to ſuch a degree of amity, as bordered upon heaven; a friendſhip ſo ſacred, that when it ended in this world, it began in the next, where it ſhall have no end.

And, though this world cannot give any degree of pleaſure equal to ſuch a friendſhip; yet obedience to parents, and a deſire to know the affairs, and manners, and laws, and learning of other nations, that they might thereby become the more ſerviceable unto their own, made them put off their gowns, and leave Mr. Hooker to his College: where he was daily more aſſiduous in his ſtudies, ſtill enriching his quiet and capacious ſoul with the precious learning of the Philoſophers, Caſuiſts, and Schoolmen; and with them the foundation and reaſon of all Laws, both ſacred and civil; and with ſuch other learning as lay moſt remote from the track of common ſtudies. And as he was diligent in theſe; ſo he ſeemed reſtleſs in ſearching the ſcope and intention

of

of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the ſacred Scripture: for the underſtanding of which, he ſeemed to be aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit with which they were written; he that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to underſtand wiſdom ſecretly. And the good man would often ſay, *The Scripture was not writ to beget pride and diſputations, and oppoſition to government; but moderation, and charity, and humility, and obedience, and peace, and piety in mankind; of which no good man did ever repent himſelf upon his death-bed.* And that this was really his judgment, did appear in his future writings, and in all the actions of his life. Nor was this excellent man a ſtranger to the more light and airy parts of learning, as muſic and poetry; all which he had digeſted, and made uſeful; and of all which the Reader will have a fair teſtimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his ſtudies in all quietneſs for the ſpace of three or more years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, and was made both Deacon and Prieſt; and not long after, in obedience to the College Statutes, he was to preach either at St. Peter's, Oxford, or at St. Paul's Croſs, London, and the laſt fell to his allotment.

In order to which Sermon, to London he came, and immediately to the Shunamites Houſe; which is a houſe ſo called, for that, beſides the ſtipend paid the Preacher, there is proviſion made alſo for his lodging and diet two days before, and one day after his Sermon. This houſe was then kept by John Churchman, ſometimes a draper of good note in Watling-Street, upon whom after many years of plenty, poverty [illegible] like an armed man, and brought him into a neceſſitous condition: which, though a great affliction, is not always an argument of God's diſpleaſure, for he was a virtuous man: [illegible] teſtimony of his wife, but [illegible] by what follows. But to [illegible] came ſo wet, ſo weary, and weather-

weather-beaten, that he was never known to expreſs more paſſion, than againſt a friend that diſſuaded him from footing it to London, and for hiring him no eaſier an horſe, (ſuppoſing the horſe trotted when he did not;) and at this time alſo, ſuch a faintneſs and fear poſſeſſed him, that he would not be perſuaded two days quietneſs, or any other means could be uſed to make him able to preach his Sunday's Sermon; but a warm bed, and reſt, and drink proper for a cold, given him by Miſtreſs Churchman, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the office of the day, which was in or about the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty one.

And in this firſt public appearance to the world, he was not ſo happy as to be free from exceptions againſt a point of doctrine delivered in his Sermon, which was, *That in God there were two Wills: an antecedent and a conſequent Will: his firſt Will, That all mankind ſhould be ſaved; but his ſecond Will was, That thoſe only ſhould be ſaved, that did live anſwerable to that degree of grace which he had offered or afforded them.* This ſeemed to croſs a late opinion of Mr. Calvin's, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and had been ſince by Dr. Jackſon, Dr. Hammond, and others of great learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the honour and juſtice of our merciful God. How he juſtified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted againſt (as Mr. Hooker declares in an occaſional anſwer to Mr. Travers) by John Elmer, then Biſhop of London, at this time one of his auditors, and at laſt one of his advocates too, when Mr. Hooker was accuſed for it.

But the juſtifying of this doctrine did not prove of ſo bad conſequence, as the kindneſs of Mrs. Churchman's curing him of his late diſtemper and cold; for that was ſo gratefully apprehended by Mr. Hooker, that he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to believe

lieve all that ſhe ſaid: ſo that the good man came to be perſuaded by her, *That he was a man of a tender conſtitution*; and, *that it was beſt for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurſe to him; ſuch a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and ſuch a one ſhe could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry.* And he not conſidering, that *the children of this world are wiſer in their generation than the children of light*; but, like a true Nathaniel, who feared no guile, becauſe he meant none; did give her ſuch power as Eleazer was truſted with, when he was ſent to chooſe a wife for Iſaac; for even ſo he truſted her to chooſe for him, promiſing upon a fair ſummons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did ſo in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter Joan, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping houſe: ſo that he had no reaſon to *rejoice in the wife of his youth*, but rather to ſay with the holy Prophet, *Wo is me, that I am conſtrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar!*

This choice of Mr. Hooker's (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us conſider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays, *There is a wheel within a wheel*; a ſecret ſacred wheel of Providence, (eſpecially in marriages,) guided by his hand, that *allows not the race to the ſwift*, nor *bread to the wiſe*, nor good wives to good men: and he that can bring good out of evil (for mortals are blind to ſuch reaſons) only knows why this bleſſing was denied to patient Job, and to [illegible] meek Moſes, and to our as meek and patient Mr. Hooker. But ſo it was; and [illegible] wonder, for *affliction is a di-* [illegible] which though it be unpleaſing to mankind, [illegible] often, very often impoſed it [illegible] phyſic to thoſe children wh[illegible]

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College; from that garden of piety, of pleaſure, of peace, and a ſweet converſation, into the thorny wilderneſs of a buſy world; into thoſe cumbling cares that attend a married prieſt, and a country paſſonage; which was Draiton Beauchamp in Buckinghamſhire, (not far from Ailſbury, and in the Diocele of Lincoln;) to which he was preſented by John Cheney, Eſquire, (then Patron of it,) the ninth of December 1584, where he behaved himſelf ſo, as to give no occaſion of evil, but (as St. Paul adviſeth a Miniſter of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguiſhes, in neceſſities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-ſuffering*; yet troubling no man with his diſcontents and wants.

And in this mean condition he continued about a year; in which time his two pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, were returned from travel, and took a journey to Draiton to ſee their tutor; where they found him with a book in his hand, (it was the Odes of Horace,) he being then tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field; which he told his pupils he was forced to do, for that his ſervant was then gone home to dine, and aſſiſt his wife to do ſome neceſſary houſehold buſineſs. When his ſervant returned and releaſed him, his two pupils attended him unto his houſe, where their beſt entertainment was quiet company, which was preſently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtayed but next morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pity their tutor's condition: and having in that time remembered and paraphraſed on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and, by other ſuch like diverſions, given him as much preſent pleaſure as their acceptable company and diſcourſe could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife, and ſeek themſelves a quieter lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. Cranmer ſaid,

ſaid, *Good Tutor, I am ſorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parſonage: and more ſorry your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your reſtleſs ſtudies.* To whom the good man replied, *My dear George, if Saints have uſually a double ſhare in the miſeries of this life, I, that am none, ought not to repine at what my wiſe Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to ſubmit to his will, and poſſeſs my ſoul in patience and peace.*

Made Maſter of the Temple.

At their return to London, Edwin Sandys acquaints his father (then Biſhop of London, and after Archbiſhop of York) with his tutor's ſad condition, and ſolicits for his removal to ſome benefice that might give him a more comfortable ſubſiſtence; which his father did moſt willingly grant him, when it ſhould next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year 1585, * Mr. Alvy (Maſter of the Temple) died, who was a man of a ſtrict life, of great learning, and of ſo venerable behaviour, as to gain ſuch a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of Father Alvy. At the Temple Reading, next after the death of this Father Alvy, the Archbiſhop of York being then at dinner with the Judges, the Reader and Benchers of that ſociety, he met there with a condolement for the death of Father Alvy, an high commendation of his ſaint-like life, and of his great merit both to God and man; and as they bewailed his death, ſo they wiſhed for a like pattern of virtue and learning to ſucceed him. And here came in a fair occaſion for the Archbiſhop to commend Mr. Hooker to Father Alvy's place, which he did with ſo effectual an earneſtneſs, and that ſeconded with ſo many other teſtimonies of his worth, that Mr. Hooker was ſent for from Draiton Beau-

champ

* He was buried the firſt place ſaid of the month of Auguſt, anno 1584.

champ to London, and there the Maſterſhip of the Temple propoſed unto him by the Biſhop, as a greater freedom from his country cares, the advantage of a better ſociety, and a more liberal penſion than his parſonage did afford him. But theſe reaſons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wiſh was rather to gain a better country living, where he might *be free from noiſe*, (ſo he expreſſed the deſire of his heart,) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietneſs. But, notwithſtanding this averſeneſs, he was at laſt perſuaded to accept of the Biſhop's propoſal; and was by * Patent for life made Maſter of the Temple the 17th of March, 1585, he being then in the 34th year of his age.

[But before any mention was made of Mr. Hooker for this place, two other Divines were nominated to ſucceed Alvey; whereof Mr. Walter Travers, a diſciplinarian in his judgment and practice, and Preacher here in the afternoons, was chief, and recommended by Alvey himſelf on his death-bed, to be Maſter after him: and no marvel, for Alvey's and Travers's principles did ſomewhat correſpond. And many gentlemen of the houſe deſired him; which deſire the Lord Treaſurer Burghley was privy to, and by their requeſt, and his own inclination towards him, being a good preacher, he moved the Queen to allow of him; for the diſpoſal of the place was in her. But Archbiſhop Whitgift knew the man, and his hot temper and principles, from the time he was Fellow of Trinity College, and had obſerved his ſteps ever after: he knew how turbulently he had carried himſelf at

Endeavours for Travers to be Maſter of the Temple. J. S.

* This you may find in the Temple Records. Will. Ermſtead was Maſter of the Temple at the diſſolution of the Priory, and died 2 Eliz. Richard Alvy, Bat. Divinity, Pat. 13 Feb. 2 Eliz. *Magiſter ſive Cuſtos Domûs et Eccleſiæ novi Templi*; died 27 Eliz.—Richard Hooker ſucceeded that year by Patent, *in terminis*, as Alvy had it, and he left it 33 Eliz.—That year Dr. Bekey ſucceeded Rich. Hooker.

the College, how he had diſowned the Engliſh eſtabliſhed Church and Epiſcopacy, and went to Geneva, and afterwards to Antwerp, to be ordained Miniſter, as he was by Villers and Cartwright, and others the heads of a congregation there; and ſo came back again more confirmed for the diſcipline. And knowing how much the doctrine and converſe of the Maſter to be placed here would influence the gentlemen, and their influence and authority prevail in all parts of the realm where their habitations and eſtates were, that careful Prelate made it his endeavour to ſtop Travers's coming in; and had a learned man in his view, and of principles more conformable and agreeable to the Church, namely, one Dr. Bond, the Queen's Chaplain, and well known to her. She well underſtanding the importance of this place, and knowing by the Archbiſhop what Travers was, by a letter he timely writ to her Majeſty upon the vacancy, gave particular order to the Treaſurer to diſcourſe with the Archbiſhop about it.

Oppoſed by the Archb.

The Lord Treaſurer, hereupon, in a letter, conſulted with the ſaid Archbiſhop, and mentioned Travers to him, as one deſired by many of the houſe. But the Archbiſhop, in his anſwer, plainly ſignified to his Lordſhip, that he judged him altogether unfit, for the reaſons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the Queen Dr. Bond, as a very fit perſon. But, however, ſhe declined him, fearing his bodily ſtrength to perform the duty of the place, as ſhe did Travers for other cauſes. And by laying both aſide, ſhe avoided giving diſguſt to either of thoſe great men. This Dr. Bond ſeems to be that Dr. Nicholas Bond that afterwards was Preſident of Magdalen College, Oxon, and that was much abuſed by *Martin Mar-Prelate*.

Theſe particulars I have collected from a letter of the Archbiſhop to the Queen, and other letters that paſſed between the Archbiſhop and the Lord Treaſurer about this matter, while the Maſterſhip was vacant.

cant. The paſſages whereof, taken *verbatim* out of their ſaid letters, may deſerve here to be ſpecified for the ſatisfaction of the Readers.

And firſt, in the month of Auguſt, upon the death of the former Maſter, the Archbiſhop wrote this letter unto the Queen.

The Archb. to the Queen concerning the vacancy of the Temple.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to be adverti ſed, that the Maſterſhip of the Temple is vacant by the death of Mr. Alvey. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned, diſcreet, and wiſe man, in reſpect of the company there: who, being well directed and taught, may do much good elſewhere in the commonwealth, as otherwiſe alſo they may do much harm. And becauſe I hear there is ſuit made to your Highneſs for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to ſignify unto your Majeſty, that the ſaid Travers hath been, and is one of the chief and principal authors of diſſenſion in this Church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other orders by Authority eſtabliſhed; an earneſt ſeeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the Miniſtry at all, or elſe ordered beyond the ſeas; not according to the form in this Church of England uſed. Whoſe placing in that room, eſpecially by your Majeſty, would greatly animate the reſt of that faction, and do very much harm in ſundry reſpects.

Your Majeſty hath a Chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, a man in my opinion very fit for that office, and willing alſo to take pains therein, if it ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs to beſtow it upon him. Which I refer to your own moſt gracious diſpoſition: beſeeching Almighty God long to bleſs, proſper, and preſerve your Majeſty to his glory, and all our comforts.

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful

Servant and Chaplain,

Jo. CANTUAR."

From Croyden, the * of Auguſt, 1584.

Next, in a letter of the Archbiſhop to the Lord Treaſurer, dated from Lambeth, Sept. 14, 1584, he hath theſe words:

The Archb. to the Lord Treaſurer.

I beſeech your Lordſhip to help ſuch an one to the Maſterſhip of the Temple as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders eſtabliſhed; and a defender, not a depraver, of the preſent ſtate and government. He that now readeth there is nothing leſs, as I of mine own knowledge and experience can teſtify. Dr. Bond is deſirous of it, and I know not a fitter man.

The Lord Treaſurer, in a letter to the Archbiſhop, dated from Oatlands, (where the Queen now was,) Sept. 17, 1584, thus wrote:

The Lord Treaſurer to the Archb.

THE Queen hath aſked me what I thought of Travers to be Maſter of the Temple. Whereunto I anſwered, that at the requeſt of Dr. Alvey in his ſickneſs, and a number of honeſt gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my allowance of him to the place, ſo as he would ſhew himſelf conformable to the orders of the Church. Whereunto I was informed, that he would ſo be. But her Majeſty told me, that your Grace did not ſo allow of him. Which, I ſaid, might be for ſome things ſuppoſed to be written by him (in a book) intituled, De Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica. *Whereupon her Majeſty commanded me to write to your Grace, to know your opinion, which I pray your Grace to ſignify unto her, as God ſhall move you. Surely it were great pity, that any impediment ſhould be occaſion to the contrary: for he is well learned, very honeſt, and well allowed, and loved of the generality of that houſe. Mr. Bond told me, that your Grace liked well of him; and ſo do I alſo, as of one well learned and honeſt; but, as I told him, if he came not to the place with ſome applauſe of the company, he ſhall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto her Majeſty, if Travers ſhould not have it. But her Majeſty thinks him not fit for that place, becauſe of his infirmities. Thus wiſhing your Grace aſſiſtance*

assistance of God's Spirit to govern your charge unblameable,

Your Grace's to command,

WILL. BURGHLEY.

From the Court at Oatlands,
the 27th Sept. 1584.

Part of the Archbishop's letter in answer to this was to this tenor:

The Archb. in answer to the letter of the Lord Treasurer.

Mr. Travers, whom your Lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself: I did elect him Fellow of Trinity College, being before rejected by Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach; whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the College to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless, if time and years have now altered that disposition, (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary,) I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath. Otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your Lordship and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am, that divers grave, and of the best affected of them, have shewed their misliking of him to me; not only out of [illegible] of his disorderliness in the manner of the Communion, and contempt of the Prayers, but also of his negligence in reading. Whose lectures, by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no comfort thereby.

The book De Disciplina Eccle[illegible]

nion, hath been reputed of his penning, ſince the firſt publiſhing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly againſt our ſtate and government. Wherein alſo, among other things, he condemneth the taking and paying of Firſt-fruits and Tenths, &c. And therefore, unleſs he will ratify his conformity by ſubſcription, as all others do which have entered into Eccleſiaſtical livings, and make proof that he is a Miniſter ordered according to the laws of this Church of England, as I verily believe he is not, becauſe he forſook his place in the College upon that account, I can by no means yield my conſent to the placing him there, or elſewhere, in any function of this Church.]

And here I ſhall make a ſtop; and, that the Reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a character of the times, and temper of the people of this nation, when Mr. Hooker had his admiſſion into this place: a place which he accepted, rather than deſired; and yet here he promiſed himſelf a virtuous quietneſs: that bleſſed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that ſo he might in peace bring forth the fruits of peace, and glorify God by uninterrupted prayers and praiſes; for this he always thirſted; and yet this was denied him. For his admiſſion into this place was the very beginning of thoſe oppoſitions and anxieties, which till then this good man was a ſtranger to, and of which the Reader may gueſs by what follows.

In this character of the times, I ſhall, by the Reader's favour, and for his information, look ſo far back as to the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; a time in which the many pretended titles to the crown, the frequent treaſons, the doubts of her ſucceſſor, the late civil war, and the ſharp perſecution that had raged to the effuſion of ſo much blood in the reign of Queen Mary, were freſh in the memory of all men; and theſe begot fears in the moſt pious and wiſeſt of this nation, leſt the like days ſhould return

again

again to them or their preſent poſterity. The apprehenſion of which dangers begot an earneſt deſire of a ſettlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other way to make them ſit quietly under their own *vines* and *fig-trees*, and enjoy the deſired fruit of their labours. But time, and peace, and plenty, begot ſelf-ends; and thoſe begot animoſities, envy, oppoſition, and unthankfulneſs for thoſe bleſſings for which they lately thirſted, being then the very utmoſt of their deſires, and even beyond their hopes.

This was the temper of the times in the beginning and progreſs of her reign; and thus it continued too long: for thoſe very people that had enjoyed the deſires of their hearts in a Reformation from the Church of Rome, became at laſt ſo like the grave, as never to be ſatisfied; but were ſtill thirſting for more and more: neglecting to pay that obedience to government, and perform thoſe vows to God, which they made in their days of adverſities and fears: ſo that in ſhort time there appeared three ſeveral intereſts, each of them fearleſs and reſtleſs in the proſecution of their deſigns; they may for diſtinction be called, the active Romaniſts, the reſtleſs Nonconformiſts, (of which there were many ſorts,) and, the paſſive peaceable Proteſtant. The counſels of the firſt conſidered and reſolved on in Rome: the ſecond in Scotland, in Geneva, and in divers ſelected, ſecret, dangerous conventicles, both there, and within the boſom of our own nation: the third pleaded and defended their cauſe by eſtabliſhed laws, both eccleſiaſtical and civil: and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from deſtroying what was by thoſe known laws happily eſtabliſhed to them and their poſterity.

I ſhall forbear to mention the very many and dangerous plots of the Romaniſts againſt the Church and State; becauſe what is principally intended in this digreſſion, is an account of the opinions and activity of the Nonconformiſts; againſt whoſe judgment and practice Mr. Hooker became at laſt, but moſt unwillingly,

ingly, tobe engaged in a book-war; a war which he maintained not as againſt an enemy, but with the ſpirit of meekneſs and reaſon.

Nonconformiſts repreſented.

In which number of Nonconformiſts, though ſome might be ſincere and well-meaning men, whoſe indiſcreet zeal might be ſo like charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of errors, yet of this party there were many that were poſſeſſed of an high degree of ſpiritual wickedneſs; I mean with an innate reſtleſs radical pride and malice; I mean not thoſe leſſer ſins which are more viſible and more properly carnal, and ſins againſt a man's ſelf, as gluttony and drunkenneſs, and the like, (from which good Lord deliver us!) but ſins of an higher nature; becauſe more unlike to the nature of God, which is love, and mercy, and peace; and more like the Devil, (who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk; and yet is a Devil:) thoſe wickedneſſes of malice and revenge, and oppoſition, and a complacence in working and beholding confuſion, (which are more properly his work, who is the enemy and diſturber of mankind; and greater ſins, though many will not believe it:) men whom a furious zeal and prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing reaſon, or adhering to the ways of peace; men whom pride and ſelf-conceit had made to overvalue their own wiſdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold fooliſh and unmannerly diſputes againſt thoſe men which they ought to reverence, and thoſe laws which they ought to obey; men that laboured and joyed to *ſpeak evil of government*, and then to be the authors of confuſion, (of confuſion as it is confuſion:) whom company, and converſation, and cuſtom had blinded, and made inſenſible that theſe were errors; and at laſt became ſo reſtleſs, and ſo hardened in their opinions, that like thoſe which *periſhed in the gainſaying of Core*, ſo theſe died without repenting theſe ſpiritual wickedneſſes, of which Coppinger and Hacket, and their adherents, are too ſad teſtimonies.

And in theſe times, which tended thus to confuſion,

ſion, there were alſo many others that pretended to tenderneſs of conſcience, refuſing to ſubmit to ceremonies, or to take an oath before a lawful magiſtrate: and yet theſe very men did, in their ſecret conventicles, covenant and ſwear to each other, to be aſſiduous and faithful in uſing their beſt endeavours to ſet up a Church-government that they had not agreed on. To which end there were many ſelect parties that wandered up and down, and were active in ſowing diſcontents and ſedition, by venomous and ſecret murmurings, and a diſperſion of ſcurrilous pamphlets and libels againſt the Church and State; but eſpecially againſt the Biſhops; by which means, together with very bold, and as indiſcreet ſermons, the common people became ſo fanatic, as St. Peter obſerved there were in his time *ſome that wreſted the Scripture to their own deſtruction*; ſo by theſe men, and this means, many came to believe the Biſhops to be Antichriſt, and the only obſtructors of God's diſcipline; and many of them were at laſt given over to ſuch deſperate deluſions, as to find out a text in the Revelation of St. John, that *Antichriſt was to be overcome by the ſword*, which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that thoſe very men, that began with tender meek Petitions, proceeded to print public Admonitions; and then to ſatirical Remonſtrances: and at laſt, (having, like David, numbered who was not, and who was, for their cauſe,) they got a ſuppoſed certainty of ſo great a party, that they durſt threaten firſt the Biſhops, and not long after, both the Queen and Parliament; to all which they were ſecretly encouraged by the Earl of Leiceſter, then in great favour with her Majeſty, and the reputed cheriſher and patron-general of theſe pretenders to tenderneſs of conſcience; whom he uſed as a ſacrilegious ſnare to further his deſign, which was by their means to bring ſuch an odium upon the Biſhops, as to procure an alienation of their lands, and a large proportion of them for himſelf: which avaricious deſire

deſire had ſo blinded his reaſon, that his ambitious and greedy hopes had almoſt flattered him into preſent poſſeſſion of Lambeth-houſe.

And to theſe ſtrange and dangerous undertakings the Nonconformiſts of this nation were much encouraged and heightened by a correſpondence and confederacy with that brotherhood in Scotland; ſo that here they became ſo bold, that one * told the Queen openly in a ſermon, *She was like an untamed heifer, that would not be ruled by God's people, but obſtructed his diſcipline.* And in Scotland they were more confident, for there † they declared her an Atheiſt, and grew to ſuch an height as not to be accountable for any thing ſpoken againſt her; no nor for treaſon againſt their own King, if ſpoken in the pulpit: ſhewing at laſt ſuch a diſobedience even to him, that his mother being in England, and then in diſtreſs, and in priſon, and in danger of death, the Church denied the King their prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of feaſting, their Church declared for a general faſt, in oppoſition to his authority.

To this height they were grown in both nations, and by theſe means there was diſtilled into the minds of the common people ſuch other venomous and turbulent principles, as were inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Church and State: and theſe vented ſo daringly, that, beſide the loſs of life and limbs, the Church and State were both forced to uſe ſuch other ſeverities, as will not admit of an excuſe, if it had not been to prevent confuſion, and the perilous conſequences of it; which, without ſuch prevention, would in a ſhort time have brought unavoidable ruin and miſery to this numerous nation.

Theſe errors and animoſities were ſo remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious Italian, who,

* Mr. Dering.

† See Biſhop Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland.

being

being about this time come newly into this nation, writ ſcoffingly to a friend in his own country; *That the common people of England were wiſer than the wiſeſt of his nation; for here the very women and ſhopkeepers were able to judge of Predeſtination, and determine what laws were fit to be made concerning Church-government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or aboliſhed. That they were more able (or at leaſt thought ſo) to raiſe and determine perplexed caſes of conſcience, than the moſt learned Colleges in Italy. That men of the ſlighteſt learning, and the moſt ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or Super or Re-Reformation of Religion; and that in this they appeared like that man, who would never ceaſe to whet and whet his knife, till there was no ſteel left to make it uſeful.* And he concluded his letter with this obſervation, *That thoſe very men that were moſt buſy in oppoſitions and diſputations, and controverſies, and finding out the faults of their governors, had uſually the leaſt of humility and mortification, or of the power of godlineſs.*

And to heighten all theſe diſcontents and dangers, there was alſo ſprung up a generation of godleſs men; men that had ſo long given way to their own luſts and deluſions, and had ſo often, and ſo highly oppoſed the bleſſed motions of the bleſſed Spirit, and the inward light of their own conſciences, that they had thereby ſinned themſelves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: into a belief, which is repugnant even to human nature, (for the Heathens believe there are many Gods;) but theſe have ſinned themſelves into a belief, that there is no God; and ſo finding nothing in themſelves, but what is worſe than nothing, began to wiſh what they were not able to hope for, *that they ſhould be like the beaſts that periſh*; and, in wicked company, (which is the Atheiſt's ſanctuary,) were ſo bold as to ſay ſo: though the worſt of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wiſh, but cannot then think

think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then ſinned themſelves.

And now! when the Church was peſtered with them, and with all theſe other irregularities; when her lands were in danger of alienation, her power at leaſt neglected, and her peace torn in pieces by ſeveral ſchiſms, and ſuch hereſies as do uſually attend that ſin: when the common people ſeemed ambitious of doing thoſe very things which were attended with moſt dangers, that thereby they might be puniſhed, and then applauded and pitied: when they called the ſpirit of oppoſition a tender conſcience, and complained of perſecution, becauſe they wanted power to perſecute others: when the giddy multitude raged, and became reſtleſs to find out miſery for themſelves and others; and the rabble would herd themſelves together, and endeavour to govern and act in ſpite of authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to ſuppreſs the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of an high and fearleſs fortitude; they were bleſt in all by John Whitgift his being made Archbiſhop of Canterbury; of whom ingenious Sir Henry Wotton (that knew him well) hath left this true character, *that he was a man of a reverend and ſacred memory; and of the primitive temper: a man of ſuch a temper, as when the Church by lowlineſs of ſpirit did flouriſh in higheſt examples of virtue.*

And though I dare not undertake to add to his character, yet I ſhall neither do right to this diſcourſe, nor to my Reader, if I forbear to give him a further and ſhort account of the life and manners of this excellent man; and it ſhall be ſhort, for I long to end this digreſſion, that I may lead my Reader back to Mr. Hooker, where we left him at the Temple.

John Whitgift was born in the county of Lincoln, of a family that was ancient, and noted to be prudent

dent and affable, and gentle by nature. He was educated in Cambridge; much of his learning was acquired in Pembroke-Hall, (where Mr. Bradford the martyr was his tutor:) from thence he was removed to Peter-Houſe; from thence to be Maſter of Pembroke-Hall; and from thence to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain; and not long after Prebendary of Ely, and then Dean of Lincoln; and having for many years paſt looked upon him with much reverence and favour, gave him a fair teſtimony of both, by giving him the Biſhopric of Worceſter, and (which was not an uſual favour) forgiving him his firſt-fruits; then by conſtituting him Vice-Preſident of the Principality of Wales. And having for ſeveral years experimented his wiſdom, his juſtice and moderation in the manage of her affairs, in both theſe places, ſhe in the twenty-ſixth of her reign made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, not long after, of her Privy Council; and truſted him to manage all her eccleſiaſtical affairs and preferments. In all which removes, he was like the Ark, which left a bleſſing upon the place where it reſted; and in all his employments, was like Jehoida, that did good unto Iſrael.

Theſe were the ſteps of this Biſhop's aſcenſion to this place of dignity and cares; in which place (to ſpeak Mr. Camden's very words in his Annals) *he devoutly conſecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church.* And yet in this place he met with many oppoſitions in the regulation of Church-affairs, which were much diſordered at his entrance, by reaſon of the age and * remiſſneſs of Biſhop Grindal, (his immediate predeceſſor,) the

* (or rather by reaſon of his ſuſpenſion and ſequeſtration, [illegible] (together with the Queen's diſpleaſure) for [illegible] eccleſiaſtic affairs were managed by certain

activity

activity of the Nonconformiſts, and their chief aſſiſtant the Earl of Leiceſter; and indeed, by too many others of the like ſacrilegious principles. With them he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cauſe, yet he foreſaw, that without a great meaſure of the Queen's favour, it was impoſſible to ſtand in the breach that was made into the lands and immunities of the Church, or to maintain the remaining rights of it. And therefore by juſtifiable ſacred inſinuations, ſuch as St. Paul to Agrippa, (*Agrippa, believeſt thou? I know thou believeſt,*) he wrought himſelf into ſo great a degree of favour with her, as, by his pious uſe of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of fame in this world, and of glory in that into which they are now entered.

His merits to the Queen, and her favours to him, were ſuch, that ſhe called him *her little black huſband*, and called his ſervants *her ſervants:* and ſhe ſaw ſo viſible and bleſſed a ſincerity ſhine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church's, and for her good, that ſhe was ſuppoſed to truſt him with the very ſecrets of her ſoul, and to make him her confeſſor: of which ſhe gave many fair teſtimonies; and of which one was, that *ſhe would never eat fleſh in Lent, without obtaining a licence from her little black huſband:* and would often ſay, *ſhe pitied him becauſe ſhe truſted him, and had eaſed herſelf by laying the burthen of all her clergy-cares upon his ſhoulders, which ſhe was certain he managed with prudence and piety.*

I ſhall not keep myſelf within the promiſed rules of brevity in this account of his intereſt with her Majeſty, and his care of the Church's rights, if in this digreſſion I ſhould enlarge to particulars; and therefore my deſire is, that one example may ſerve for a teſtimony of both. And that the Reader may the better underſtand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbiſhop, there paſſed an Act or Acts of Parliament, intending the better preſervation of Church-land, by reſtoring a power

a power which was veſted in others to ſell or leaſe them, by lodging and truſting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown: and amongſt many that made a bad uſe of this power or truſt of the Queen's, the Earl of Leiceſter was one; and the good Biſhop having by his intereſt with her Majeſty put a ſtop to the Earl's ſacrilegious deſigns, they two fell to an open oppoſition before her; after which they both quitted the room, not friends in appearance. But the Biſhop made a ſudden and a ſeaſonable return to her Majeſty, (for he found her alone,) and ſpake to her with great humility and reverence, and to this purpoſe:

His Speech to the Queen.

I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the Church's ſafety are dearer to me than my life, but my conſcience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that Princes are deputed nurſing-fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection; and therefore God forbid that you ſhould be ſo much as paſſive in her ruin, when you may prevent it; or that I ſhould behold it without horror and deteſtation; or ſhould forbear to tell your Majeſty of the ſin and danger. And though you and myſelf are born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the Church's lands and immunities are much decayed; yet, Madam, let me beg that you will but firſt conſider, and then you will believe there are ſuch ſins as Profaneneſs and Sacrilege; for if there were not, they could not have names in holy Writ; and particularly in the New Teſtament. And I beſeech you to conſider, that though our Saviour ſaid, He judged no man; *and, to teſtify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery; yet in this point of the Church's rights he was ſo zealous, that he made himſelf both the accuſer and the judge, and the executioner to puniſh theſe ſins; witneſſed, in that he himſelf made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple; overthrew the tables of the money-*

changers, and drove them out of it. And conſider, that it was St. Paul that ſaid to thoſe Chriſtians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet committed Sacrilege, Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacrilege? *ſuppoſing, I think, Sacrilege to be the greater ſin. This may occaſion your Majeſty to conſider, that there is ſuch a ſin as Sacrilege; and to incline you to prevent the curſe that will follow it, I beſeech you alſo to conſider, that Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and Helena his mother; that King Edgar, and Edward the Confeſſor, and indeed many others of your predeceſſors, and many private Chriſtians, have alſo given to God, and to his Church, much land, and many immunities, which they might have given to thoſe of their own families, and did not; but gave them as an abſolute right and ſacrifice to God: and with theſe immunities and lands they have entailed a curſe upon the alienators of them; God prevent your Majeſty from being liable to that curſe.*

And to make you that are truſted with their preſervation, the better to underſtand the danger of it; I beſeech you, forget not, that, beſides theſe curſes, the Church's land and power have been alſo endeavoured to be preſerved, as far as human reaſon and the law of this nation have been able to preſerve them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred obligation on the conſciences of the Princes of this realm. For they that conſult Magna Charta ſhall find, that as all your predeceſſors were at their coronation, ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the Nobility and Biſhops then preſent, and in the preſence of God, and in his ſtead to him that anointed you, to maintain the Church-lands, and the Rights belonging to it; *and this ratified openly at the holy Altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern ſtatutes have denounced a curſe upon thoſe that break Magna Charta. And now what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the laſt great day, either by your Majeſty or me, if it be wilfully or but negligently violated, I know not.*

And therefore, good Madam, let [illegible]

exceptions againſt the failings of ſome few Clergymen prevail with you to puniſh poſterity for the errors of this preſent age; let particular men ſuffer for their particular errors, but let God and his Church have their right: and though I pretend not to propheſy, yet I beg poſterity to take notice of what is already become viſible in many families; that Church-land, added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and ſecretly conſumed both: or like the eagle that ſtole a coal from the altar, and thereby ſet her neſt on fire, which conſumed both her young eagles, and herſelf that ſtole it. And though I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproachfully of your Father; yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Church's rights, added to the vaſt treaſure left him by his Father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable conſumption upon both, notwithſtanding all his diligence to preſerve it.

And conſider, that after the violation of thoſe laws, to which he had ſworn in Magna Charta, God did ſo far deny him his reſtraining grace, that he fell into greater ſins than I am willing to mention. Madam, Religion is the foundation and cement of human ſocieties: and when they that ſerve at God's altar ſhall be expoſed to poverty, then Religion itſelf will be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible; as you may already obſerve in too many poor vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late Act or Acts entruſted with a great power to preſerve or waſte the Church's lands; yet diſpoſe of them for Jeſus' ſake as the donors intended: let neither falſehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwiſe, and put a ſtop, I beſeech you, to the approaching ruins of God's Church; as you expect comfort at the laſt great day; for Kings muſt be judged. Pardon this affectionate plainneſs, my moſt dear Sovereign, and let me beg to be ſtill continued in your favour; and the Lord ſtill continue you in his.

This Queen's patient hearing this affectionate [illegible] future care to preſerve the Church's

rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair teſtimony, that he made her's and the Church's good the chiefeſt of his cares, and that ſhe alſo thought ſo. And of this there were ſuch daily teſtimonies given, as begot betwixt them ſo mutual a joy and confidence, that they ſeemed born to believe and do good to each other: ſhe not doubting his piety to be more than all his oppoſers, which were many, and thoſe powerful too; nor his prudence equal to the chiefeſt of her Council, who were then as remarkable for active wiſdom, as thoſe dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he ſaw ſome flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that oppoſed him, eſpecially the Earl of Leiceſter: ſo that God ſeemed ſtill to keep him in her favour, that he might preſerve the remaining Church-lands and immunities from ſacrilegious alienations. And this good man deſerved all the honour and power with which ſhe truſted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles: he eaſed her of all her Church-cares by his wiſe manage of them; he gave her faithful and prudent counſels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of her life in her declining age; to be then moſt frequently with her, and her aſſiſtant at her private devotions; to be the greateſt comfort of her ſoul upon her death-bed, to be preſent at the expiration of her laſt breath; and to behold the cloſing [illegible] that had long looked upon him with [illegible] affection. And let this alſo be added, [illegible] chief mourner at her ſad funeral; [illegible] forgotten, that, within a few hours [illegible] he was the happy proclaimer that [illegible] peaceful ſucceſſor) was heir to the

[illegible] of my Reader, that he allow me to ſay

ſay a little, and but a little, more of this good Biſhop, and I ſhall then preſently lead him back to Mr. Hooker; and, becauſe I would haſten, I will mention but one part of the Biſhop's charity and humility; but this of both. He built a large Alms-houſe near to his own palace at Croyden in Surry, and endowed it with maintenance for a Maſter and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he viſited ſo often, that he knew their names and diſpoſitions; and was ſo truly humble, that he called them brothers and ſiſters: and whenſoever the Queen deſcended to that lowlineſs to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth, (which was very often,) he would uſually the next day ſhew the like lowlineſs to his poor brothers and ſiſters at Croyden, and dine with them at his Hoſpital; at which time you may believe there was joy at the table.

And at this place he built alſo a fair Free-ſchool, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the Maſter and Scholars. Which gave juſt occaſion for Boyſe Siſi, then Ambaſſador for the French King, and reſident here, at the Biſhop's death, to ſay, *The Biſhop had publiſhed many learned books; but a Free-ſchool to train up youth, and an Hoſpital to lodge and maintain aged and poor people, were the beſt evidences of Chriſtian learning that a Biſhop could leave to poſterity.* This good Biſhop lived to ſee King James ſettled in peace, and then fell ſick at Lambeth; of which the King having notice, went to viſit him, and found him in his bed in a declining condition, and very weak: and after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, the King aſſured him, *He had a great affection for him, and high value for his prudence and virtues, which were ſo uſeful for the Church, that he would earneſtly beg his life of God.* To which he replied, *Pro Eccleſia Dei, pro Eccleſia Dei:* which were the laſt words he [illegible] teſtifying, that as in his life, ſo at [illegible] care was of God's Church.

[illegible] Whitgift was made Archbiſhop in the

year 1583. In which buſy place he continued twenty years and ſome months; and in which time you may believe he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit, qui patitur*; i. e. *He conquers that endures*. And he made it good. Many of his many trials were occaſioned by the then powerful Earl of Leiceſter, who did ſtill (but ſecretly) raiſe and cheriſh a faction of Nonconformiſts to oppoſe him; eſpecially one Thomas Cartwright, a man of noted learning; ſome time contemporary with the Biſhop in Cambridge, and of the ſame college, of which Dr. Whitgift, before he was Biſhop, was Maſter: in which place there began ſome emulations, (the particulars I forbear,) and at laſt open and high oppoſitions betwixt them, and in which you may believe Mr. Cartwright was moſt faulty, if his expulſion out of the Univerſity can incline you to it.

And in this diſcontent, long before the Earl's death, (which was 1588,) Mr. Cartwright appeared a chief cheriſher of the party that were for the Geneva Church-government; and, to effect it, he ran himſelf into many dangers both of liberty and life; appearing to juſtify himſelf and his party in many remonſtrances; (eſpecially that called the *Admonition to the Parliament*.) Which laſt he cauſed to be printed; to which the Doctor made an anſwer, and Cartwright replied upon him; and then the Doctor having rejoined to his reply, (however Mr. Cartwright would not be ſatisfied,) he wrote no more, but left the reader to be judge which had maintained their cauſe with moſt charity and reaſon. [And to posterity he left ſuch a learned and moſt uſeful book, as does abundantly eſtabliſh the Reformation and Conſtitution of our Church, and vindicate it againſt all the cavils of the innovators.]

After ſome years, the Doctor being preferred to the ſee, firſt of Worceſter, and then of Canterbury, Mr. Cartwright, after his ſhare of trouble

priſonment, (for ſetting up new Preſbyteries in divers places, againſt the eſtabliſhed order,) having received from the Archbiſhop many perſonal favours, retired himſelf to a more private living, which was at Warwick, where he became Maſter of an Hoſpital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and where the Archbiſhop gave him a licence to preach, upon promiſe not to meddle with controverſies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: and this promiſe he kept during his life, which ended 1602, the Archbiſhop ſurviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

['Tis true, the Archbiſhop treated Cartwright with ſuch a civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his patron, the Earl of Leiceſter, how much the Archbiſhop's humane carriage had endeared him to him; and withal ſhewed his deſire that he might have liberty ſometimes to have acceſs to him; profeſſing that he would ſeek to perſuade all with whom he had concern and converſe, to keep up an union with the Church of England. This, I ſay, is certain; but it is not ſo certain, that the Archbiſhop gave Cartwright a licence to preach. It appears, that in the year 1585, he refuſed to grant it him, however ſolicited by Leiceſter's own letter to do it: and, notwithſtanding Cartwright's promiſes, he required more ſpace of time to be ſatisfied of his conformity. For the elucidation whereof, and ſome further light into this matter, let both theſe letters be read and conſidered; the former, of the Earl to the Archbiſhop; the latter, of the Archbiſhop to the Earl. J. S.

" *My good Lord,*

" *I MOST heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous uſage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath ſo exceedingly taken it alſo, as, I aſſure your Grace, enough of it. I truſt it ſhall do a great And he proteſteth and profeſſeth to me, to* The Earl of Leiceſter to the Archbiſhop concerning Mr. Cartwright.

take no other courſe, but to the drawing of all men to the unity of the Church: and that your Grace hath ſo dealt with him, as no man ſhall ſo command him, and diſpoſe of him, as you ſhall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit, (if your Grace ſo permit him,) what he himſelf will, and would all others ſhould do, for obedience to the laws eſtabliſhed. And if any little ſcruple be, it is not great, and eaſy to be reformed by your Grace; whom I do moſt heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with ſuch acceſs ſometimes as your leiſure may permit. For I perceive he doth much deſire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good Lord, praying to God to bleſs his Church, and to make his ſervants [illegible] and faithful, I bid your Grace farewel.

"*Your Grace's very aſſured* [illegible]

"ROB. LEICE[illegible]R."

At the Court, this 14th of July.

To which letter the Archbiſhop returned this anſwer.

"*My ſingular good Lord,*

The Archbiſhop to the Earl.

"*MR. Cartwright ſhall be welcome to me at all times, and uſing himſelf quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he ſhall find me willing to do him any good; but to grant unto him, as yet, my licence to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; eſpecially ſeeing he proteſteth himſelf to be of the ſame mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myſelf alſo, I thank God, not altered in any point by me ſet down to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore notwithſtanding, I am content and ready to be at peace with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my conſcience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better perſuaded of*

of his conformity. And ſo being bold to uſe my accuſtomed plainneſs with your good Lordſhip, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God; this 17th of July, 1585."]

And now after this long digreſſion, made for the information of my Reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. Hooker, where we left him in the Temple, and where we ſhall find him as deeply engaged in a controverſy with Walter Travers, a friend and favourite of Mr. Cartwright's, as Dr. Whitgift had ever been with Mr. Cartwright himſelf, and of which I ſhall proceed to give this following account.

And firſt this; that though the pens of Mr. Cartwright and Dr. Whitgift were now at reſt, and had been a great while, yet there was ſprung up a new generation of reſtleſs men, that by company and clamours became poſſeſſed of a faith which they ought to have kept to themſelves, but could not: men that were become poſitive in aſſerting, *that a Papiſt cannot be ſaved:* inſomuch, that about this time, at the execution of the Queen of Scots, the Biſhop that preached her funeral ſermon (which was Dr. Howland, then Biſhop of Peterborough) was reviled for not being poſitive for her damnation. And beſides this boldneſs of their becoming Gods, ſo far as to ſet limits to his mercies; there was not only *Martin Mar-Prelate*, but other venomous books daily printed and diſperſed: books that were ſo abſurd and ſcurrilous, that the graver Divines diſdained them an anſwer. And yet theſe were grown into high eſteem with the common people, till Tom Naſh appeared againſt them all, who was a man of a ſharp wit, and the maſter of a ſcoffing ſatirical merry pen, which he employed to diſcover the abſurdities of thoſe blind, malicious, ſenſeleſs pamphlets, and ſermons as ſenſeleſs as they. Naſh's anſwers being like his books, which bore theſe titles, *An Almond for a Parrot*; *A Fig for my God-ſon*; *Come crack me this Nut*, and the

the like; ſo that his merry wit made ſuch a diſcovery of their abſurdities, as (which is ſtrange) he put a greater ſtop to theſe malicious pamphlets, than a much wiſer man had been able.

The Contr. between Hooker and Travers.

And now the Reader is to take notice, that at the death of Father Alvy, who was Maſter of the Temple, this Walter Travers was Lecturer there for the evening ſermons, which he preached with great approbation, eſpecially of the younger gentlemen of that ſociety; and for the moſt part approved by Mr. Hooker himſelf, in the midſt of their oppoſitions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. Travers being indeed a man of competent learning, of winning behaviour, of a blameleſs life. But he had taken orders by the Preſbyters in Antwerp, and if in any thing he was tranſported, it was in an extreme deſire to ſet up that government in this nation: for the promoting of which he had a correſpondence with Theodore Beza at Geneva, and others in Scotland; and was one of the chiefeſt aſſiſtants to Mr. Cartwright in this deſign.

Mr. Travers had alſo a particular hope to ſet up this government in the Temple, and to that end uſed his endeavours to be Maſter of it; and his being diſappointed by Mr. Hooker's admittance, proved ſome occaſion of his oppoſition of Mr. Hooker's ſermons publicly in the pulpit. Many of which were concerning the doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies of this Church: and Mr. Hooker again publicly juſtified his doctrine againſt the other's exceptions. Inſomuch, that as St. Paul withſtood St. Peter to his face, ſo did they. For as one hath pleaſantly expreſſed it, *The forenoon ſermons ſpeak Canterbury, and the afternoon's, Geneva.*

In theſe ſermons there was little of bitterneſs, but each party brought all the reaſons he was able, to prove his adverſary's opinions erroneous. And thus it continued for a time, till the oppoſitions became ſo high, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in

in that place, that the prudent Archbiſhop put a ſtop to Mr. Travers's preaching, by a poſitive prohibition; [and that chiefly becauſe of his foreign ordination.] Againſt which Mr. Travers appealed, and petitioned her Majeſty and her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſſiſting, powerful friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the Archbiſhop, whom the Queen had entruſted with all Church-power; and he had received ſo fair a teſtimony of Mr. Hooker's principles, and of his learning and moderation, that he withſtood all ſolicitations. But the denying this petition of Mr. Travers was unpleaſant to divers of his party, and the reaſonableneſs of it became at laſt to be ſo magnified by them and many others, as never to be anſwered: ſo that, intending the Biſhop's and Mr. Hooker's diſgrace, they procured it to be privately printed and ſcattered abroad; and then Mr. Hooker was forced to appear as publicly, and print an anſwer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbiſhop; and it proved ſo full an anſwer, to have in it ſo much of clear reaſon, and writ with ſo much meekneſs and majeſty of ſtile, that the Biſhop began to wonder at the man, to rejoice that he had appeared in his cauſe, and diſdained not earneſtly to beg his friendſhip; even a familiar friendſhip with a man of ſo much quiet learning and humility.

To enumerate the many particular points, in which Mr. Hooker and Mr. Travers diſſented, (all or moſt of which I have ſeen written,) would prove at leaſt tedious: and therefore I ſhall impoſe upon my Reader no more than two, which ſhall immediately follow, and by which he may judge of the reſt.

Mr. Travers excepted againſt Mr. Hooker, for that in one of his ſermons he declared, *that the aſſurance of what we believe by the Word of God is not to us ſo certain as that which we perceive by ſenſe.* And Mr. Hooker

Hooker confeſſeth he ſaid ſo, and endeavours to juſtify it by the reaſons following.

Firſt, I taught, that the things which God promiſes in his Word are ſurer than that we touch, handle, or ſee: but are we ſo ſure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes to us as he doth, by arguments drawn from our ſenſible experience? For we muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the things proved; otherwiſe it is no proof. For example, how is it that many men looking on the moon at the ſame time, every one knoweth it to be the moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the ſame promiſe, have not all the ſame fulneſs of perſuaſion. For how falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; when as the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth has always need to labour, ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning heavenly and ſpiritual things may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?

The ſermon that gave him the cauſe of this his juſtification, makes the caſe more plain, by declaring, *that there is, beſides this certainty of evidence, a certainty of adherence.* In which, having moſt excellently demonſtrated what the certainty of adherence is, he makes this comfortable uſe of it: *Comfortable* (he ſays) *as to weak believers, who ſuppoſe themſelves to be faithleſs, not to believe, when notwithſtanding they have their adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh ſecretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward teſtimony of it.*

Tell this to a man that hath a mind too much dejected by a ſad ſenſe of his ſin; to one that, by a too ſevere judging of himſelf, concludes that he wants faith, becauſe he wants the comfortable aſſurance of it; and his anſwer will be, *Do not perſuade me, againſt my knowledge, againſt what I find and feel in myſelf: I do*

do not, I know I do not, believe. (Mr. Hooker's own words follow.) *Well then, to favour ſuch men a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God's promiſes, but are faithleſs, and without belief: but are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confeſs they are. Do they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking that they have of thoſe things believed? For no man can love thoſe things which in his own opinion are not; and if they think thoſe things to be, which they ſhew they love, when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it be, that, by deſiring to believe, they prove themſelves true believers: for without faith no man thinketh that things believed are: which argument all the ſubtilties of infernal powers will never be able to diſſolve.* This is an abridgment of part of the reaſons he gives for his juſtification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted againſt by Mr. Travers.

Mr. Hooker was alſo accuſed by Mr. Travers, for II.
that he in one of his ſermons had declared, *That he doubted not but that God was merciful to ſave many of our forefathers living heretofore in Popiſh ſuperſtition, for as much as they ſinned ignorantly:* and Mr. Hooker in his anſwer profeſſeth it to be his judgment, and declares his reaſons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But firſt (becauſe Travers's argument againſt this charitable opinion of Hooker was, that they could not be ſaved becauſe they ſought to be juſtified by the merit of their works, and ſo overthrew the foundation of Faith) he ſtates the queſtion about Juſtification and Works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown; and then he proceeds to diſcover that way which natural men and ſome others have miſtaken to be the way, by which they hope to attain true and everlaſting happineſs: and having diſcovered the miſtaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, everlaſting life and bleſſed-

neſs

neſs is attainable. And theſe two ways he demonſtrates thus: (they be his own words that follow:) *That, the way of nature; this, the way of grace: the end of that way, ſalvation merited, preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of men's works: their righteouſneſs, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection. But the end of this way, ſalvation beſtowed upon men as a gift: preſuppoſing not their righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, juſtification; their juſtification not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not doers are accepted, which is their vocation; their vocation, the election of God, taking them out of the number of loſt children; their election, a Mediator in whom to be elect: this mediation inexplicable mercy; this mercy, ſuppoſing their miſery for whom he vouchſafed to die, and make himſelf a Mediator.*

And he alſo declareth, *there is no meritorious cauſe for our juſtification, but Chriſt; no effectual, but his mercy*; and ſays alſo, *we deny the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the benefit of his paſſion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlaſting life, or can be worthy of it.* This belief (he declareth) is to deſtroy the very eſſence of our juſtification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this to be very dangerous. *Yet nevertheleſs,* (and for this he was accuſed,) *conſidering how many virtuous and juſt men, how many Saints and Martyrs, have had their dangerous opinions, amongſt which this was one, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends, by voluntary puniſhments which they laid upon themſelves:* becauſe by this, or the like erroneous opinions which do by conſequence overthrow the merits of Chriſt, ſhall man be ſo bold as to write on their graves, *Such men are damned, there is for them no ſalvation!* St. Auſtin ſays, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them

them that obſtinately perſiſt in it, how is it poſſible that any man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love of Chriſt and his goſpel; whoſe eyes are willingly open to ſee the truth, and his mouth ready to renounce all error, this one opinion of merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and becauſe he wanteth, trembleth, and is diſcouraged, and yet can ſay, *Lord, cleanſe me from all my ſecret ſins!* Shall I think, becauſe of this, or a like error, ſuch men touch not ſo much as the hem of Chriſt's garment? if they do, wherefore ſhould I doubt, but that virtue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave them? No, I will not be afraid to ſay to ſuch a one, *You err in your opinion, but be of good comfort, you have to do with a merciful God, who will make the beſt of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious ſophiſter, who gathereth the worſt out of every thing in which you are miſtaken.*

But it will be ſaid, *The admittance of merit in any degree overthroweth the foundation, excludeth from the hope of mercy, from all poſſibility of ſalvation.* And, (now Mr. Hooker's own words follow,)

What though they hold the truth ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian faith? Although they have in ſome meaſure all the virtues and graces of the Spirit? Although they have all other tokens of God's children in them? Although they be far from having any proud opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their deeds? Although the only thing that troubleth and moleſteth them, be a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fear ariſing from an erroneous conceit, that God will require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this opinion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? Although the only

only cauſe why they do not forſake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be diſproved? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die (ſays Mr. Hooker) *if it be ever proved, that ſimply an error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in ſuch a caſe utterly from the hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſs, that if it be an error to think that God may be merciful to ſave men, even when they err, my greateſt comfort is, my error: were it not for the love I bear to this error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak or to live.*

I was willing to take notice of theſe two points, as ſuppoſing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove uſeful to my Reader; as alſo for that the anſwers be arguments of Mr. Hooker's great and clear reaſon, and equal charity. Other exceptions were alſo made againſt him, as, *that he prayed before, and not after his ſermons; that in his prayers he named Biſhops; that he kneeled both when he prayed, and when he received the Sacrament; and* (ſays Mr. Hooker in his defence) *other exceptions ſo like theſe, as but to name, I ſhould have thought a greater fault than to commit them.*

And it is not unworthy the noting, that in the manage of ſo great a controverſy, a ſharper reproof than this, and one-like it, did never fall from the happy pen of this humble man. That like it was upon a like occaſion of exceptions, to which his anſwer was, *Your next argument conſiſts of railing and of reaſons: to your railing I ſay nothing; to your reaſons I ſay what follows.* And I am glad of this fair occaſion, to teſtify the dove-like temper of this meek, this matchleſs man; doubtleſs if Almighty God had bleſſed the Diſſenters from the ceremonies and diſcipline of this Church with a like meaſure of wiſdom and humility, inſtead of their pertinacious zeal, then obedience and truth had kiſſed each other; then peace and piety had flouriſhed in our nation,

and

and this Church and State had been bleſt like *Jeruſalem, that is at unity with itſelf*; but that can never be expected, till God ſhall bleſs the common people with a belief, *That Schiſm is a ſin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that Laws are not made for private men to diſpute, but to obey.*

[Before we paſs from theſe unhappy diſceptations between Hooker and Travers, as we have heard two articles of pretended falſe doctrine objected by the one to the other, ſo it is pity the reſt ſhould be wholly loſt, and for ever buried in ſilence: therefore, for the making this conſiderable part of the reverend man's life and hiſtory complete, and to retrieve whatſoever may be gotten of the pen and mind of ſo learned and judicious a perſon, take this further account, not only of two, but of all the articles that his before-mentioned adverſary had marſhalled up againſt him, collected from a ſermon or ſermons he had heard him preach at the Temple; together with his endeavoured confutation of them; and likewiſe Hooker's own vindication of himſelf to each of thoſe articles. Theſe articles ſeem to have been delivered by Travers to the Lord Treaſurer. The ſame Lord delivered them to Hooker, to conſider of and to make his reply to. And of theſe articles the Archbiſhop alſo was privy, and briefly declared his judgment and determination of. I ſhall ſet all down exactly from an authentic manuſcript.

J.S. The articles of falſe doctrines objected by Travers to Hooker.

Doctrines delivered by Mr. Hooker, as they were ſet down and ſhewed by Mr. Travers, Mar. 30, 1585, under this title:

A ſhort note of ſundry unſound points of doctrine, at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker in his public ſermons.

1. The Church of Rome is a true Church of Chriſt, and a Church ſanctified by profeſſion of that

truth which God hath revealed unto us by his Son; though not a pure and perfect Church.

2. The Fathers which lived and died in Popiſh ſuperſtition were ſaved, becauſe they ſinned ignorantly.

3. They which are of the Church of Rome may be ſaved by ſuch a faith as they have in Chriſt, and a general repentance of all their ſins.

4. The Church of Rome holdeth all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them think otherwiſe of her.

5. The Church of Rome teacheth Chriſt's righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin.

6. The Galatians which joined with faith in Chriſt, circumciſion, as neceſſary unto ſalvation, notwithſtanding be ſaved.

7. Neither the Church of Rome, nor the Galatians, deny the foundation directly, but only by conſequent: and therefore may be ſaved. Or elſe neither the Lutherans, nor whoſoever hold any error (for every error by conſequent denieth the foundation) may be ſaved.

8. An additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that ſaith of any, that he is a righteous man, ſaith, that he is a man: except it be privative; as when he ſaith, he is a dead man, then he denieth him to be a man: and of this ſort of [privative] additaments neither are works which are added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome; nor circumciſion, added to him by the Galatians.

9. The Galatians' caſe is harder than the caſe of the Church of Rome; for they added to Chriſt, circumciſion, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed: but that which the Church of Rome addeth are works, which God hath commanded.

10. No one ſequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the Galatians, for joining circumciſion with Chriſt, but

but may be as well enforced againſt the Lutherans holding ubiquity.

11. A Biſhop or Cardinal of the Church of Rome, yea, the Pope himſelf denying all other errors of Popery, notwithſtanding his opinion of juſtification by works, may be ſaved.

12. Predeſtination is not of the abſolute will of God, but conditional.

13. The doings of the wicked are not of the will of God poſitive, but only permiſſive.

14. The reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil works which God did foreſee they would commit.

15. The aſſurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not ſo ſure, as of thoſe which we perceive by ſenſe.

Here follows an account, given in by Mr. Hooker himſelf, of what he preached March 28, 1585. And then of what Travers in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And laſtly, of Hooker's reply and vindication of himſelf and his ſermons.

'I DOUBTED not but that God was merciful to 'thouſands of our fathers, which lived in Popiſh 'ſuperſtition: for that they ſinned ignorantly. But 'we have the light of the truth.

Hooker's own relation of his aſſertions, and vindication of them againſt Travers.*

* 'Which doctrine was withſtood, becauſe we are

* *Travers's own anſwer.*

Salvation belongeth to the Church of Chriſt. We may not think, that they could be capable of it, which lived in the errors held and maintained

'commanded to depart out of Babylon, elſe we 'ſhould be partakers of thoſe plagues there de-'nounced againſt ſuch as repent not of their ſuper-'ſtitions: which they cannot who know them not.

'I anſwered, that there were thouſands in our 'days who hate ſin, deſiring to walk according to 'the will of God; and yet committing ſin which 'they know not to be ſin. I think, that they that 'deſire forgiveneſs of ſecret ſins, which they know 'not to be ſins, and that are ſorry for ſins, that they 'know not to be ſins, [ſuch] do repent.

'It is replied, that without faith there is no re-'pentance. Our fathers deſiring mercy, did but as 'divers Pagans; and had no true repentance.

'They thought they could not be ſaved by Chriſt, 'without works, as the Galatians did: and ſo they 'denied the foundation of faith.

'I anſwered, although the propoſition were true, 'that he who thinketh that he cannot be ſaved by 'Chriſt without works, overthroweth the founda-'tion; yet we may perſuade ourſelves, that our fore-'fathers might be ſaved. 1. Becauſe many of them 'were ignorant of the dogmatical poſitions of the 'Church of Rome. 2. Albeit they had divers po-'ſitions of that Church, yet it followeth not that 'they had this. 3. Although they did generally 'hold this poſition, yet God might be merciful unto 'them. No exception hath been taken againſt any 'one of theſe aſſertions. 4. I add, that albeit all 'thoſe, of whom we ſpeak, did not only hold this 'generally, but as the ſcholars of Rome hold this

maintained in the Church of Rome, that ſeat of Antichriſt. Wherefore to his people God ſpeaketh in this ſort; Go out of Babylon, my people, go out of her, that you be not partaker of her ſins, and that you taſte not of her plagues. *The Galatians thinking that they could not be ſaved by Chriſt, except they were circumciſed, did thereby exclude themſelves from Salvation. Chriſt did profit them nothing. So they which join their own works with Chriſt.*

'poſition

'poſition now, of joining works with Chriſt, whe-
'ther doth that poſition overthrow the foundation
'directly, or only by conſequence? If it doth over-
'throw the foundation directly, &c. To make all
'plain, theſe points are to be handled. Firſt, what
'is meant by the foundation. Secondly, what it is
'to deny the foundation directly. Thirdly, whe-
'ther the elect may be ſo deceived, that they may
'come to this, to deny the foundation directly.
'Fourthly, whether the Galatians did directly deny
'it. Fifthly, whether the Church of Rome, by
'joining works with Chriſt in the matter of ſalva-
'tion, do directly deny it.

I. To the firſt I anſwer: 'The foundation is,
'that which Peter, Nathaniel, and the Samaritans
'confeſſed; and that which the Apoſtles expreſsly
'affirm, Acts iv. *There is none other name under heaven*
'*given among men, whereby we muſt be ſaved.* It is, in
'fine, this, Salvation is by Chriſt only. This word
'*only*, what doth it exclude? As when we ſay, This
'judge ſhall *only* determine this matter: this *only*
'doth not exclude all other things, beſides the per-
'ſon of the judge; as neceſſary witneſſes, the equity
'of the cauſe, &c. but all perſons: and not all per-
'ſons from being preſent, but from determining
'the cauſe. So when we ſay, Salvation *only* is by
'Chriſt, we do not exclude all other things. For
'then how could we ſay, that faith were neceſſary?
'We exclude therefore, not thoſe means whereby
'the benefits of Chriſt are applied to us; but all
'other perſons, for working any thing for our re-
'demption.

II. To the ſecond point: 'We are ſaid to deny
'the foundation directly, when plainly and expreſsly
'we deny, that Chriſt only doth ſave. By conſe-
'quence we deny the foundation, when any ſuch

'thing is defended whereby it may be inferred, that 'Chriſt doth not *only* ſave.

III. To the third: 'The elect of God cannot ſo 'err, that they ſhould deny directly the foundation. 'For that Chriſt doth keep them from that extre- 'mity. And there is no ſalvation to ſuch as deny 'the foundation directly. Therefore it is ſaid, that 'they ſhall worſhip the Beaſt, whoſe names are not 'found in the Book of Life. Antichriſt may pre- 'vail much againſt them, [viz. the elect,] and they 'may receive the ſign of the Beaſt in the ſame 'degree, but not ſo that they ſhould directly deny 'the foundation.

IV. To the fourth: 'Albeit the Galatians fell 'into error, yet not ſo that they loſt ſalvation. If 'they had died before they had known the doctrine 'of Paul, being before deceived by thoſe that they 'thought did teach the truth; what? do you think, 'ſhould they have been damned? This we are 'taught, that ſuch errors as are damning ſhall not 'take hold, but on thoſe that love not the truth. 'The Galatians had embraced the truth; and for it 'had ſuffered many things, &c. There came among 'them ſeducers, that required circumciſion. They 'being moved with a religious fear, thought it to 'be the word of God, that they ſhould be circum- 'ciſed. The beſt of them might be brought into 'that opinion; and dying before they could be other- 'wiſe inſtructed, they may not for that be excluded 'from ſalvation. Circumciſion being joined with 'Chriſt, doth only by conſequence overthrow the 'foundation. To hold the foundation with an addi- 'tament is not to deny the foundation; unleſs the 'additament be a privative. He is a juſt man, there- 'fore a man: but this followeth not; He is a dead 'man, therefore he is a man. In the 15th chapter 'of the Acts they are called *Credentes*, [i. e. ſuch as 'believed,]

'believed,] that taught the neceſſity of circumciſion. 'That name could not have been given unto them, 'if directly they had denied the foundation. That 'which the Apoſtle doth urge againſt the Galatians, 'in reſpect of circumciſion, may be urged againſt 'the Lutherans, in reſpect of their conſubſtantia-'tion. But they do not directly deny the founda-'tion. So neither did the Galatians directly deny it.

V. Laſtly: 'Whether doth the Church of Rome 'directly deny the foundation, by joining Chriſt and 'works. There is a difference between the Papiſts 'and the Galatians: for circumciſion, which the 'Galatians joined with Chriſt, was forbidden, and 'taken away by Chriſt. But works are commanded, 'which the Church of Rome doth join with Chriſt. 'So that there is greater repugnancy to join circum-'ciſion with Chriſt, than to join works with him. 'But let them be equal. As the Galatians only by 'conſequent denied the foundation, ſo do the Pa-'piſts, Zanchy, Calvin, Mornay; I need not go ſo 'far as ſome of theſe. But this I think, if the Pope, 'or any of the Cardinals, ſhould forſake all other 'their corruptions, and yield up their ſouls, holding 'the foundation again but by a ſlender thread, and 'did but as it were touch the hem of Chriſt's gar-'ment, being that which the Church of Rome doth 'in this point of doctrine, they may obtain mercy. 'For they have to deal with God, who is no cap-'tious ſophiſter, and will not examine them in quid-'dities, but accept them, if they plainly hold the 'foundation.

'This error is my only comfort, as touching the 'ſalvation of our fathers: I follow Mr. Martyr. I 'know *Ignorantia non excuſat in toto*, but, *in tanto*. It 'maketh not a fault to be no fault, but that which is 'a fault to be a leſs one.'

The Archb. judgment of thoſe controverſies.

At length, thus did the Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſcreetly and warily correct and moderate theſe articles between them both.

I. Papiſts, living and dying Papiſts, may notwithſtanding be ſaved. The reaſon; ignorance excuſed them. As the Apoſtle allegeth, 1 Tim. i. 13. *I obtained mercy, becauſe I did it ignorantly.*

The Archbiſhop's judgment.

Not Papiſts, but our fathers. Nor they all, but many of them. Nor living and dying Papiſts, but living in Popiſh ſuperſtitions. Nor ſimply might, but might, by the mercy of God, be ſaved. Ignorance did not excuſe the fault, to make it no fault: but the leſs their fault was, in reſpect of ignorance, the more hope we have, that God was merciful to them.

II. Papiſts hold the foundation of faith: ſo that they may be ſaved, notwithſtanding their opinion of merit.

Archbiſhop. And Papiſts overthrow the foundation of faith, both by their doctrine of merit, and otherwiſe many ways. So that if they have, as their errors deſerve, I do not ſee how they ſhould be ſaved.

III. General repentance may ſerve to their ſalvation, though they confeſs not their error of merit.

Archbiſhop. General repentance will not ſerve any but the faithful man. Nor him, for any ſin, but for ſuch ſins only as he doth not mark, nor know to be ſin.

IV. The Church of Rome is within the new covenant.

Archbiſhop.

Archbiſhop. The Church of Rome is not as the aſſemblies of Turks, Jews, and Painims.

V. The Galatians joining the Law with Chriſt might have been ſaved, before they received the Epiſtle.

Archbiſhop. Of the Galatians, before they were told of their error, what letteth us to think, as of our fathers, before the Church of Rome was admoniſhed of her defection from the truth?]

And this alſo may be worthy of noting, that theſe exceptions of Mr. Travers, againſt Mr. Hooker, were the cauſe of his tranſcribing ſeveral of his Sermons, which we now ſee printed with his books; of his Anſwer to Mr. Travers's Supplication: and of his moſt learned and uſeful Diſcourſe of Juſtification, of Faith and Works; and by their tranſcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preſerved them from being loſt, as too many of his other matchleſs writings have been; and from theſe I have gathered many obſervations in this diſcourſe of his life.

After the publication of his Anſwer to the Petition of Mr. Travers, Mr. Hooker grew daily into greater repute with the moſt learned and wiſe of the nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the Temple that were zealous for Mr. Travers, and for his Church-diſcipline; inſomuch, that though Mr. Travers left the place, yet the ſeeds of diſcontent could not be rooted out of that ſociety, by the great reaſon, and as great meekneſs, of this humble man: for though the chief Benchers gave him much reverence and encouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppoſitions by thoſe of Mr. Travers's judgment; inſomuch that it turned to his extreme grief; and that he might unbeguile and win them, he deſigned to write a deliberate and ſober treatiſe

treatiſe on the Church's power to make canons for the uſe of ceremonies, and by law to impoſe an obedience to them, as upon her children; and this he propoſed to do in eight books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; intending therein to ſhew ſuch arguments as ſhould force an aſſent from all men, if reaſon delivered in ſweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: and that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large Preface or Epiſtle to the diſſenting brethren, wherein there were ſuch bowels of love, and ſuch a commixture of that love with reaſon, as was never exceeded but in holy writ; and particularly by that of St. Paul to his dear brother and fellow-labourer Philemon: than which none was ever more like this Epiſtle of Mr. Hooker's. So that his dear friend and companion in his ſtudies, Doctor Spencer, might, after his death, juſtly ſay, *What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man; great in all wiſe men's eyes except his own: with what gravity and majeſty of ſpeech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly myſteries: whoſe eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always caſt down to the ground: how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the Spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the dove, had wanted gall: let thoſe that knew him not in his perſon, judge by theſe living images of his ſoul, his writings.*

The foundation of theſe books was laid in the Temple; but he found it no fit place to finiſh what he had there deſigned; and therefore ſolicited the Archbiſhop for a remove, to whom he ſpake to this purpoſe; *My Lord, when I loſt the freedom of my call, which was my College; yet, I found ſome degree of it in my quiet country parſonage: but I am weary of the noiſe and oppoſitions of this place, and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for ſtudy and quiet-*

neſs. And, my Lord, my particular conteſts here with Mr. Travers have proved the more unpleaſant to me, becauſe I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occaſioned me to examine mine own conſcience concerning his opinions; and, to ſatisfy that, I have conſulted the holy Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conſcience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be ſo far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of Church-government, our manner of God's worſhip, our praiſing and praying to him, and our eſtabliſhed ceremonies, as often as their tender conſciences ſhall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only ſatisfied myſelf, but have begun a treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of others, by a demonſtration of the reaſonableneſs of our Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Church's peace; and, ſo as not to provoke your adverſary Mr. Cartwright, nor Mr. Travers, whom I take to be mine, (but not mine enemy,) God knows this to be my meaning. To which end, I have ſearched many books, and ſpent many thoughtful hours; and, I hope, not in vain; for I write to reaſonable men. But, my Lord, I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I have begun, unleſs I be removed into ſome quiet country parſonage, where I may ſee God's bleſſings ſpring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, without diſturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account, which all fleſh muſt at the laſt great day give to the God of all ſpirits.

This is my deſign; and, as theſe are the deſires of my heart, ſo they ſhall, by God's aſſiſtance, be the conſtant endeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore if your Grace can think me and my poor labours worthy ſuch a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun, which is a bleſſing I cannot hope for in this place.

About the time of this requeſt to the Biſhop, the parſonage or rectory of Boſcum, in the dioceſe of Sarum,

Sarum, and ſix miles from that city, became void. The Biſhop of Sarum is patron of it; but in the vacancy of that ſee, (which was three years betwixt the death of Biſhop Pierce, and Biſhop Caldwell's admiſſion into it,) the diſpoſal of that, and all benefices belonging to it, during the time of this ſaid vacancy, came to be diſpoſed of by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and he preſented Richard Hooker to it in the year 1591. And Richard Hooker was alſo in this ſaid year inſtituted (July 17.) to be a Minor Prebend of Saliſbury, the corps to it being Nether-Havin, about ten miles from that city; which Prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that Church. In this Boſcum he continued till he had finiſhed four of his eight propoſed books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and theſe were entered into the regiſter-book in Stationers-hall, the 9th of March 1592, but not printed till the year 1594, and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate preface, which he directs to them that ſeek (as they term it) the reformation of the Laws and Orders Eccleſiaſtical in the Church of England; of which books I ſhall yet ſay nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finiſh the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter); but at Boſcum he finiſhed and publiſhed but only the firſt four, being then in the 39th year of his age.

He left Boſcum in the year 1595, by a ſurrender of it into the hands of Biſhop Caldwell, and he preſented Benjamin Ruſſel, who was inſtituted into it, the 23d of June in the ſame year.

The parſonage of Biſhop's-Borne in Kent, three miles from Canterbury, is in that Archbiſhop's gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594, Dr. William Redman, the Rector of it, was made Biſhop of Norwich; by which means the power of preſenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and ſhe preſented Richard

Richard Hooker, whom ſhe loved well, to this good living of Borne, the 7th of July 1595, in which living he continued till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit.

And now having brought our Richard Hooker from his birth-place, to this where he found a grave, I ſhall only give ſome account of his books, and of his behaviour in this parſonage of Borne, and then give a reſt both to myſelf and my Reader.

His firſt four Books and large Epiſtle have been declared to be printed at his being at Boſcum, anno 1594. Next, I am to tell, that at the end of theſe four books, there is printed this advertiſement to the reader: *I have for ſome cauſes thought it at this time more fit to let go theſe firſt four books by themſelves, than to ſtay both them and the reſt, till the whole might together be publiſhed. Such generalities of the cauſe in queſtion as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiſs to conſider apart, by way of introduction unto the books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the reader is requeſted to mend the printer's errors, as noted underneath.*

And I am next to declare, that his fifth book (which is larger than his firſt four) was firſt alſo printed by itſelf, anno 1597, and dedicated to his patron (for till then he choſe none) the Archbiſhop. Theſe books were read with an admiration of their excellency in this, and their juſt fame ſpread itſelf into foreign nations. And I have been told, more than forty years paſt, that Cardinal Allen, or learned Dr. Stapleton (both Engliſh men, and in Italy when Mr. Hooker's four books were firſt printed) meeting with this general fame of them, were deſirous to read an author, that both the Reformed and the learned of their own Church did ſo much magnify; and therefore cauſed them to be ſent for: and after reading of them, boaſted to the Pope, (which then was Clement the Eighth,) *That though he had lately ſaid he never met with an Engliſh book whoſe writer*

writer deſerved the name of an author; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be ſo to his Holineſs, if it were in Latin; for a poor obſcure Engliſh prieſt had writ four ſuch books of Laws, and Church-polity, and in a ſtile that expreſt ſo grave and ſuch humble majeſty, with clear demonſtration of reaſon, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him; and this begot in the Pope an earneſt deſire that Dr. Stapleton ſhould bring the ſaid four books, and looking on the Engliſh, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Dr. Stapleton did, to the end of the firſt book; at the concluſion of which, the Pope ſpake to this purpoſe: *There is no learning that this man hath not ſearched into, nothing too hard for his underſtanding: this man indeed deſerves the name of an author: his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them ſuch ſeeds of eternity, that if the reſt be like this, they ſhall laſt till the laſt fire ſhall conſume all learning.*

Nor was this high, the only teſtimony and commendations given to his books; for at the firſt coming of King James into this kingdom, he inquired of the Archbiſhop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church-polity; to which the anſwer was, that he died a year before Queen Elizabeth, who received the ſad news of his death with very much ſorrow: to which the King replied, *And I receive it with no leſs, that I ſhall want the deſired happineſs of ſeeing and diſcourſing with that man, from whoſe books I have received ſuch ſatisfaction: indeed, my Lord, I have received more ſatisfaction in reading a leaf, or paragraph, in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the faſhion of Churches, or Church-muſic, or the like, but eſpecially of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatiſes written but of one of thoſe ſubjects by others, though very learned men; and, I obſerve, there is in Mr. Hooker no affected language; but a grave, comprehenſive, clear manifeſtation of reaſon; and that backed with the authority*

rity of the Scripture, the Fathers and Schoolmen, and with all law both ſacred and civil. And, though many others write well, yet in the next age they will be forgotten; but doubtleſs there is in every page of Mr. Hooker's book, the picture of a divine ſoul, ſuch pictures of truth and reaſon, and drawn in ſo ſacred colours, that they ſhall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the author. And it is ſo truly true, that the King thought what he ſpake; that, as the moſt learned of the nation have, and ſtill do mention Mr. Hooker with reverence; ſo he alſo did never mention him but with the epithet of *learned*, or *judicious*, or *reverend*, or *venerable* Mr. Hooker.

Nor did his ſon, our late King Charles the Firſt, ever mention him but with the ſame reverence, enjoining his ſon, our now gracious King, to be ſtudious in Mr. Hooker's books. And our learned Antiquary Mr. Cambden * mentioning the death, the modeſty, and other virtues of Mr. Hooker, and magnifying his books, wiſhed, *that for the honour of this, and benefit of other nations, they were turned into the univerſal language.* Which work, though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forſaken it; but the reader may now expect it, having been long ſince begun, and lately finiſhed, by the happy pen of Dr. Earl, now Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, of whom I may juſtly ſay, (and let it not offend him, becauſe it is ſuch a truth as ought not to be concealed from poſterity, or thoſe that now live and yet know him not,) that ſince Mr. Hooker died, none have lived whom God hath bleſſed with more innocent wiſdom, more ſanctified learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive temper: ſo that this excellent perſon ſeems to be only like himſelf and our venerable Richard Hooker; and only fit to make the learned of all nations happy in knowing what

* In his Annals of Eliz. 1599.

hath

hath been too long confined to the language of our little iſland.

There might be many more and juſt occaſions taken to ſpeak of his books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and haſten to an account of his Chriſtian behaviour and death at Borne; in which place he continued his cuſtomary rules of mortification and ſelf-denial; was much in faſting, frequent in meditation and prayers, enjoying thoſe bleſſed returns, which only men of ſtrict lives feel and know: and of which men of looſe and godleſs lives cannot be made ſenſible; for ſpiritual things are ſpiritually diſcerned.

At his entrance into this place, his friendſhip was much ſought for by Dr. Hadrian Saravia, then one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, a German by birth, and ſometimes a paſtor both in Flanders and Holland, where he had ſtudied and well conſidered the controverted points concerning Epiſcopacy and ſacrilege, and in England had a juſt occaſion to declare his judgment concerning both, unto his brethren miniſters in the Low Countries, which was excepted againſt by Theodore Beza and others; againſt whoſe exceptions he rejoined, and thereby became the happy author of many learned tracts writ in Latin, eſpecially of three; one of the Degrees of Miniſters, and of the Biſhops' ſuperiority above the Preſbytery; a ſecond againſt Sacrilege; and a third of Chriſtian obedience to Princes; the laſt being occaſioned by Gretzerus the Jeſuit. And it is obſervable, that when, in a time of Church-tumults, Beza gave his reaſons to the Chancellor of Scotland, for the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in that nation, partly by letters, and more fully in a treatiſe of a threefold Epiſcopacy, (which he calls Divine, Human, and Satanical,) this Dr. Saravia had, by the help of Biſhop Whitgift, made ſuch an early diſcovery of their intentions, that he had almoſt as ſoon anſwered

that

that treatiſe as it became public; and therein diſcovered how Beza's opinion did contradict that of Calvin's and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themſelves in point of Epiſcopacy. But of theſe tracts it will not concern me to ſay more, than that they were moſt of them dedicated to his and the Church of England's watchful patron, John Whitgift, the Archbiſhop; and printed about the year in which Mr. Hooker alſo appeared firſt to the world, in the publication of his four books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

This friendſhip being ſought for by this learned doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. Hooker, who was by fortune ſo like him as to be engaged againſt Mr. Travers, Mr. Cartwright, and others of their judgment, in a controverſy too like Dr. Saravia's; ſo that in this year of 1595, and in this place of Biſhop's-Borne, theſe two excellent perſons began a holy friendſhip, increaſing daily to ſo high and mutual affections, that their two wills ſeemed to be but one and the ſame; and deſigns both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church; ſtill aſſiſting and improving each other's virtues, and the deſired comforts of a peaceable piety; which I have willingly mentioned, becauſe it gives a foundation to ſome things that follow.

This parſonage of Borne is from Canterbury three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to Dover; in which parſonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and ſanctity of his life, became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and [illegible]s (ſcholars eſpecially) went purpoſely to ſee [illegible] man, whoſe life and learning were ſo much admired; and alas, as our Saviour ſaid of St. John [illegible]. *What went they out to ſee! a man clothed in [illegible] and fine linen?* No, indeed; but an obſcure [illegible]ous man; a man in poor clothes, his loins [illegible]ſually girt in a coarſe gown or canonical coat; of

a mean ſtature, and ſtooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his ſoul: his body worn out, not with age, but ſtudy and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and ſedentary life. And to this true character of his perſon, let me add this of his diſpoſition and behaviour: God and nature bleſſed him with ſo bleſſed a baſhfulneſs, that as in his younger days his pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance; ſo neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of ſo mild and humble a nature, that his poor pariſh-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off at the ſame time; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet he was ſhort or weak-ſighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his ſermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the reader has a liberty to believe that his modeſty and dim-ſight were ſome of the reaſons why he truſted Mrs. Churchman to chooſe a wife for him.

This pariſh-clerk lived till the third or fourth year of the late Long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. Hooker's death, there had come many to ſee the place of his burial, and the monument dedicated to his memory by Sir William Cooper, (who ſtill lives); and the poor clerk had many rewards for ſhewing Mr. Hooker's grave-place, and his ſaid monument, and did always hear Mr. Hooker mentioned with commendations and reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and obſervations of his humility and holineſs: in all which diſcourſes, the poor man was ſtill more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. Hooker's virtues and learning: but it ſo fell out, that about the ſaid third or fourth year of the Long Parliament, the preſent parſon of Borne was ſequeſtered, (you may gueſs why,) and a Genevian miniſter put into his good living. This, and other like ſequeſtrations, made the clerk expreſs himſelf

himſelf in a wonder, and ſay, *They had ſequeſtered ſo many good men, that he doubted if his good maſter Mr. Hooker had lived till now, they would have ſequeſtered him too.*

It was not long before this intruding miniſter had made a party in and about the ſaid pariſh, that were deſirous to receive the ſacrament as in Geneva; to which end, the day was appointed for a ſelect company, and forms and ſtools ſet about the altar or communion-table for them to ſit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of ſome joint-ſtools, which the miniſter ſent the clerk to fetch, and then to fetch cuſhions. When the clerk ſaw them begin to ſit down, he began to wonder; but the miniſter bade him *ceaſe wondering, and lock the church-door:* to whom he replied, *Pray take you the keys, and lock me out: I will never come more into this church; for all men will ſay my Maſter Hooker was a good man, and a good ſcholar; and I am ſure it was not uſed to be thus in his days:* and report ſays, the old man went preſently home and died; I do not ſay died immediately, but within a few days after.

His holy behaviour at Biſhop's-Borne.

But let us leave this grateful clerk in his quiet grave, and return to Mr. Hooker himſelf, continuing our obſervations of his Chriſtian behaviour in this place, where he gave a holy valediction to all the pleaſures and allurements of earth; poſſeſſing his ſoul in a virtuous quietneſs, which he maintained by conſtant ſtudy, prayers, and meditations: his uſe was to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechiſe after the ſecond leſſon in the evening prayer; his ſermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice: his eyes always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering; inſomuch that he ſeemed to ſtudy as he ſpake; the deſign of his ſermons (as indeed of all his diſcourſes) was to ſhew reaſons for what he ſpake: and with

theſe reaſons ſuch a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and perſuade, than frighten men into piety. Studying not ſo much for matter, (which he never wanted,) as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſubdiſtinctions to amuſe his hearers, and get glory to himſelf; but glory only to God. Which intention he would often ſay *was as diſcernible in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty.*

He never failed the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his pariſhioners, perſuading them both to faſt, and then to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy, but eſpecially for the laſt; ſaying often, *That the life of a pious clergyman was viſible rhetoric, and ſo convincing, that the moſt godleſs men (though they would not deny themſelves the enjoyment of their preſent luſts) did yet ſecretly wiſh themſelves like thoſe of the ſtricteſt lives.* And to what he perſuaded others, he added his own example of faſting and prayer; and did uſually every Ember-week take from the pariſh-clerk the key of the church-door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himſelf up for many hours; and did the like moſt Fridays, and other days of faſting.

He would by no means omit the cuſtomary time of proceſſion, perſuading all both rich and poor, if they deſired the preſervation of love, and their pariſh-rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation; and moſt did ſo: in which perambulation, he would uſually expreſs more pleaſant diſcourſe than at other times, and would then always drop ſome loving and facetious obſervations to be remembered againſt the next year, eſpecially by the boys and young people; ſtill inclining them, and all his preſent pariſhioners, to meekneſs and mutual

kindneſſes

kindneſſes and love; becauſe *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to inquire who of his pariſh were ſick, or any way diſtreſſed, and would often viſit them unſent for; ſuppoſing that the fitteſt time to diſcover thoſe errors, to which health and proſperity had blinded them. And having by pious reaſons and prayers moulded them into holy reſolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confeſſion, and bewailing their ſins, with purpoſe to forſake them, and then to receive the communion, both as a ſtrengthening of thoſe holy reſolutions; and as a ſeal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their ſouls, in caſe that preſent ſickneſs did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the ſick, ſo he was diligent to prevent law-ſuits, ſtill urging his pariſhioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and live in love, becauſe (as St. John ſays) *He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.* And to maintain this holy fire of love, conſtantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was, to watch and pray, and always keep themſelves fit to receive the communion, and then to receive it often: for it was both a confirming and a ſtrengthening of their graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any houſe, he would uſually ſpeak to the whole family, and bleſs them by name, inſomuch, that as he ſeemed in his youth to be taught of God, ſo he ſeemed in this place to teach his precepts, as Enoch did, by walking with him in all holineſs and humility; making each day a ſtep towards a bleſſed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, ſuch examples are become barren, and almoſt incredible; yet let his memory be bleſſed with this true recordation, becauſe he that praiſes Richard Hooker, praiſes God, who hath given ſuch gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him

become ſuch a pattern, as may invite poſterity to imitate his virtues.

Charged with a ſcandal: and his innocency cleared.

This was his conſtant behaviour at Borne; thus as Enoch, ſo he walked with God; thus did he tread in the footſteps of primitive piety; and yet, as that great example of meekneſs and purity, even our bleſſed Jeſus, was not free from falſe accuſations, no more was this diſciple of his, this moſt humble, moſt innocent holy man. His was a ſlander parallel to that of chaſte Suſannah's by the wicked elders; or that againſt St. Athanaſius, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy man had heretical enemies,) and which this age calls trepanning. The particulars need not a repetition, and that it was falſe, needs no other teſtimony than the public puniſhment of his accuſers, and their open confeſſion of his innocency. It was ſaid, that the accuſation was contrived by a diſſenting brother, one that endured not church-ceremonies, hating him for his book's ſake, which he was not able to anſwer; and his name hath been told me: but I have not ſo much confidence in the relation, as to make my pen fix a ſcandal on him to poſterity; I ſhall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accuſation, and kept it ſecret to himſelf for many months: and, being a helpleſs man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave ſuch an accidental occaſion as forced him to make it known to his two dear friends, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, who were ſo ſenſible of their tutor's ſufferings, that they gave themſelves no reſt, till by their diſquiſitions and diligence they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accuſers did confeſs they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: to which the good man's reply was to this purpoſe, *The Lord forgive them*; and, *The Lord bleſs you for this comfortable news. Now I have*

a juſt

a juſt occaſion to ſay with Solomon, Friends are born for the days of adverſity, *and ſuch you have proved to me: and to my God I ſay, as did the mother of St. John Baptiſt,* Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men. *And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation, are ſafe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didſt take care of me, when I yet hanged on my mother's breaſt. Bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee, O Lord; for when falſe witneſſes were riſen up againſt me; when ſhame was ready to cover my face; when I was bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long; when my nights were reſtleſs, and my ſleeps broken with a fear worſe than death; when my ſoul thirſted for a deliverance, as the hart panteth for the rivers of water; then thou, Lord, didſt hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnify thy mercies, who didſt not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee; and no proſperity ſhall make me forget thoſe days of ſorrows, or to perform thoſe vows that I have made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction; for with ſuch ſacrifices thou, O God, art well pleaſed; and I will pay them.*

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good man's heart break forth; and it is obſervable, that as the invitation to this ſlander was his meek behaviour and dove-like ſimplicity, for which he was remarkable; ſo his Chriſtian charity ought to be imitated. For, though the ſpirit of revenge is ſo pleaſing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a ſupernatural grace, being indeed ſo deeply rooted in human nature, that to prevent the exceſſes of it (for men would not know moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but ſays, *Vengeance is mine:* and though this be ſaid by God himſelf, yet this re-

venge is ſo pleaſing, that man is hardly perſuaded to ſubmit the manage of it to the time, and juſtice, and wiſdom of his Creator, but would haſten to be his own executioner of it. And yet, nevertheleſs, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleaſing paſſion to the time and meaſure of God alone, it was this Richard Hooker, of whom I write: for when his ſlanderers were to ſuffer, he laboured to procure their pardon; and, when that was denied him, his reply was, *That however he would faſt and pray, that God would give them repentance and patience to undergo their puniſhment.* And his prayers were ſo far returned into his own boſom, that the firſt was granted, if we may believe a penitent behaviour, and an open confeſſion. And it is obſervable, that after this time he would often ſay to Dr. Saravia, *O with what quietneſs did I enjoy my ſoul, after I was free from the fears of my ſlander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my deſires of revenge!*

His ſickneſs and death.

In the year one thouſand ſix hundred, and of his age forty ſix, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a cold taken in his paſſage betwixt London and Graveſend, from the malignity of which he was never recovered; for, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days, and reſtleſs nights; but a ſubmiſſion to his will that makes the ſick man's bed eaſy, by giving reſt to his ſoul, made his very languiſhment comfortable: and yet all this time he was ſolicitous in his ſtudy, and ſaid often to Dr. Saravia, (who ſaw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) *That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace*; which was his uſual expreſſion. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himſelf; and it is thought he haſtened his own death, by haſtening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he

was

was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and reſolutions.

About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at leaſt never conſidered the pleaſures of the palate, became firſt to loſe his appetite, then to have an averſeneſs to all food, inſomuch, that he ſeemed to live ſome intermitted weeks by the ſmell of meat only, and yet ſtill ſtudied and wrote. And now his guardian angel ſeemed to foretel him, that his years were paſſed away as a ſhadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his diſſolution drew near; for which his vigorous ſoul appeared to thirſt.

In this time of his ſickneſs, and not many days before his death, his houſe was robbed; of which he having notice, his queſtion was, *Are my books and written papers ſafe?* and being anſwered, that they were, his reply was, *Then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me.*

About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very ſecrets of his ſoul, (for they were ſuppoſed to be confeſſors to each other,) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the neceſſity, and ſafety of the Church's abſolution, it was reſolved the doctor ſhould give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the doctor came, and after a ſhort retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him and ſome of thoſe friends that were with him, the bleſſed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus. Which being performed, the doctor thought he ſaw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it laſted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return ſuddenly, and became more viſible; inſomuch, that the doctor apprehended death ready to ſeize him: yet, after ſome amendment, left him at night, with a promiſe to return early the day following; which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation,

plation, and not inclinable to diſcourſe; which gave the doctor occaſion to enquire his preſent thoughts: to which he replied, *That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their bleſſed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh! that it might be ſo on earth!* After which words, he ſaid, *I have lived to ſee this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God; which I now apprehend to be near: and though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a conſcience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have done amiſs, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord, ſhew mercy to me; for I plead not my righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of my unrighteouſneſs, for his merits, who died to purchaſe a pardon for penitent ſinners. And ſince I owe thee a death, Lord, let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time; I ſubmit to it! Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy will be done!* With which expreſſion he fell into a dangerous ſlumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to ſpeak only theſe few words: *Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from which bleſſed aſſurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me.* More he would have ſpoken, but his ſpirits failed him; and, after a ſhort conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet ſigh put a period to his laſt breath, and ſo he fell aſleep.

And here I draw his curtain, till with the moſt glorious company of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, the moſt noble army of Martyrs and Confeſſors, this moſt learned, moſt humble, holy man ſhall alſo awake to receive an eternal tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of glory than common Chriſtians ſhall be made partakers of. In the mean time,

Bleſs,

Bleſs, O Lord, Lord bleſs his brethren, the Clergy of this nation, with ardent deſires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great learning, yet to his remarkable meekneſs, his godly ſimplicity, and his Chriſtian moderation: for theſe are praiſe-worthy; theſe bring peace at the laſt! And let the labours of his life, his moſt excellent writings be bleſſed with what he deſigned when he undertook them: which was glory to thee, O God on high, peace in thy Church, and good will to mankind!

Amen, Amen.

AN

APPENDIX

TO

THE LIFE

OF

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER.

AND now having by a long and laborious ſearch ſatisfied myſelf, and I hope my reader, by imparting to him the true relation of Mr. Hooker's life: I am deſirous alſo to acquaint him with ſome obſervations that relate to it, and which could not properly fall to be ſpoken till after his death, of which my reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And firſt, it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-ſeventh, if not in the forty-ſixth year of his age; which I mention, becauſe many have believed him to be more aged; but I have ſo examined it, as to be confident I miſtake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. Cambden, who, in his Annals of Queen Elizabeth 1599, mentions him with a high commendation of his life and learning, declares him to die in the year 1599; and yet in that inſcription of his monument ſet up at the charge of

Sir

Sir William Cooper in Borne Church, where Mr. Hooker was buried, his death is ſaid to be *an.* 1603, but doubtleſs both miſtaken; for I have it atteſted under the hand of William Somner, the Archbiſhop's regiſter for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's Will bears date October the 26th, in *anno* 1600, and that it was proved the third of December following. And this atteſted alſo, that at his death he left four daughters, Alice, Cicily, Jane, and Margaret; that he gave to each of them a hundred pounds; that he left Joan his wife his ſole executrix; and that by his inventory his eſtate (a great part of it being in books) came to 1092l. 9s. 2d. which was much more than he thought himſelf worth; and which was not got by his care, much leſs by the good houſewifery of his wife, but ſaved by his truſty ſervant Thomas Lane, that was wiſer than his maſter in getting money for him, and more frugal than his miſtreſs in keeping it: of which Will I ſhall ſay no more, but that his dear friend Thomas, the father of George Cranmer, of whom I have ſpoken, and ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, was one of the witneſſes to it.

One of his elder daughters was married to one Chalinor, ſometime a ſchoolmaſter in Chicheſter, and both dead long ſince. Margaret his youngeſt daughter was married unto Ezekiel Clark, Bachelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. Nicholas in Harbledown near Canterbury, who died about ſixteen years paſt, and had a ſon Ezekiel, now living, and in ſacred orders, being at this time Rector of Waldron in Suſſex; ſhe left alſo a daughter, with both whom I have ſpoken not many months paſt, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and theſe two atteſted unto me, that Richard Hooker their grandfather had a ſiſter, by name Elizabeth Harvey, that lived to the age of one hundred and twenty-one years, and died in the month of September, 1663.

For

For his other two daughters, I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were marriageable; and for his wife, ſhe was ſo unlike Jephtha's daughter, that ſhe ſtayed not a comely time to bewail her widowhood; nor lived long enough to repent her ſecond marriage, for which doubtleſs ſhe would have found cauſe, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. Hooker's and her death. But ſhe is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his age, the year of his death, his eſtate, his wife, and his children. I am next to ſpeak of his books, concerning which I ſhall have a neceſſity of being longer, or ſhall neither do right to myſelf or my reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he propoſed eight books, and that his firſt four were printed *anno* 1594, and his fifth book firſt printed, and alone, *anno* 1597, and that he lived to finiſh the remaining three of the propoſed eight; but whether we have the laſt three as finiſhed by himſelf, is a juſt and material queſtion; concerning which I do declare, that I have been told almoſt forty years paſt, by one that very well knew Mr. Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after the death of Mr. Hooker, Biſhop Whitgift, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſent one of his chaplains to enquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, writ by her huſband; of which ſhe would not, or could not, give any account: and I have been told, that about three months after the Biſhop procured her to be ſent for to London, and then by his procurement ſhe was to be examined, by ſome of her Majeſty's Council, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe books; but by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Biſhop invited her to Lambeth; and, after ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſſed to him, *that one Mr. Chark, and another*

miniſter

miniſter that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and deſired that they might go into her huſband's ſtudy, and look upon ſome of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, aſſuring her that they were writings not fit to be ſeen, and that ſhe knew nothing more concerning them. Her lodging was then in King-ſtreet in Weſtminſter, where ſhe was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new huſband ſuſpected and queſtioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.

And I declare alſo, that Dr. John Spencer, (mentioned in the Life of Mr. Hooker,) who was of Mr. Hooker's College, and of his time there; and betwixt whom there was ſo friendly a friendſhip, that they continually adviſed together in all their ſtudies, and particularly in what concerned theſe books of Polity: this Dr. Spencer, the three firſt books being loſt, had delivered into his hands (I think by Biſhop Whitgift) the imperfect books, or firſt rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. Hooker's hand-writing, and was beſt acquainted with his intentions. A fair teſtimony of this may appear by an Epiſtle firſt and uſually printed before Mr. Hooker's five books, (but omitted, I know not why, in the laſt impreſſion of the eight printed together in *anno* 1662, in which the publiſhers ſeem to impoſe the three doubtful, as the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker,) with theſe two letters J. S. at the end of the ſaid Epiſtle, which was meant for this John Spencer; in which Epiſtle the reader may find theſe very words, which may give ſome authority to what I have here written.

And though Mr. Hooker haſtened his own death by haſtening to give life to his books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold [illegible] ſons of his right hand, though ſo [illegible] ſons of pain and ſorrow: [illegible] whether of malice

malice or covetouſneſs, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as ſoon as they were born, and their father dead, ſmothered them; and, by conveying the perfect copies, left unto us nothing but the old, imperfect, mangled draughts diſmembered into pieces: no favour, no grace, not the ſhadow of themſelves remaining in them. Had the father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them Benonies, the ſons of ſorrow; but being the learned will not ſuffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world ſhall ſee them as they are: the learned will find in them ſome ſhadows of reſemblances of their father's face. God grant, that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for meſſengers of peace; ſo, in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their work, and that, by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of theſe our civil wars!

J. S.

And next the reader may note, that this epiſtle of Dr. Spencer's was writ, and firſt printed within four years after the death of Mr. Hooker, in which time all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore endeavoured to be completed out of Mr. Hooker's rough draughts, as is expreſſed by the ſaid Dr. Spencer, ſince whoſe death it is now fifty years.

And I do profeſs by the faith of a Chriſtian, that Dr. Spencer's wife (who was my aunt, and ſiſter to George Cranmer of whom I have ſpoken) told me forty years ſince, in theſe, or in words to this purpoſe, *that her huſband had made up or finiſhed Mr. Hooker's laſt three books; and that upon her huſband's death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, which was Dr. Abbot, or unto*

Dr. King, Biſhop of London; and that ſhe did as he enjoined her.

I do conceive, that from Dr. Spencer's and no other copy, there have been divers tranſcripts, and were to be found in ſeveral places, as namely in Sir Thomas Bodley's Library, in that of Dr. Andrews, late Biſhop of Winton, in the late Lord Conway's, in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and in the Biſhop of Armagh's, and in many others, and moſt of theſe pretended to be the author's own hand, being much diſagreeing, being indeed altered and diminiſhed as men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. Hooker's judgment ſuit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt deſigns; and for proof of a part of this, take theſe following teſtimonies.

Dr. Barnard, ſometime Chaplain to Dr. Uſher late Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, hath declared in a late Book called *Clavi Trabales*, printed by Richard Hodgkinſon, *anno* 1661, that in his ſearch and examination of the ſaid Biſhop's manuſcripts, he there found the three written books, which were the ſuppoſed ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth of Mr. Hooker's books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and, that in the ſaid three books (now printed as Mr. Hooker's) there are ſo many omiſſions, that they amount to many paragraphs; and which cauſe many incoherencies; the omiſſions are by him ſet down at large in the ſaid printed book, to which I refer the reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to inſert this following ſhort part of them.

Firſt, As there could be in natural bodies no motion of any thing, unleſs there were ſome firſt which moved all things, and continued unmoveable; even ſo in politic ſocieties there muſt be ſome unpuniſhable, or elſe no man ſhall ſuffer puniſhment; for, ſith puniſhments proceed always from ſuperiors, to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice belongeth, which adminiſtration muſt have neceſſarily a fountain [illegible] receiveth not from [illegible] courſe of juſtice ſhould

ſhould go infinitely in a circle, every ſuperior having his ſuperior without end, which cannot be; therefore, a well-ſpring, it followeth, there is, a ſupreme head of juſtice whereunto all are ſubject, but itſelf in ſubjection to none. Which kind of preeminency if ſome ought to have in a kingdom, who but the King ſhall have it? Kings therefore, or no man, can have lawful power to judge.

If private men offend, there is the magiſtrate over them which judgeth; if magiſtrates, they have their prince; if princes, there is Heaven, a tribunal before which they ſhall appear: on earth they are not accountable to any. Here, ſays the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have theſe words alſo atteſted under the hand of Mr. Fabian Philips, a man of note for his uſeful books. *I will make oath if I ſhall be required, that Dr. Sanderſon the late Biſhop of Lincoln did a little before his death affirm to me he had ſeen a manuſcript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or ſupreme governors being accountable to the People; this I will make oath that that good man atteſted to me.*

Fabian Philips.

So that there appears to be both omiſſions and additions in the ſaid laſt three printed books; and this may probably be one reaſon why Dr. Sanderſon, the ſaid learned Biſhop, (whoſe writings are ſo highly and juſtly valued,) gave a ſtrict charge near the time of his death, or in his laſt Will, *that nothing of his, that was not already printed, ſhould be printed after his death.*

It is well known how high a value our learned King James put upon the books writ by Mr. Hooker, as alſo that our late King Charles (the Martyr for the Church) valued them the ſecond of all books, teſtified by his commending them to the reading of his ſon Charles, that now is our gracious King; and

you may ſuppoſe that this Charles the Firſt was not a ſtranger to the pretended three books, becauſe in a diſcourſe with the Lord Say, when the ſaid Lord required the King to grant the truth of his argument, becauſe it was the judgment of Mr. Hooker, (quoting him in one of the three written books,) the King replied, *they were not allowed to be Mr. Hooker's books; but however he would allow them to be Mr. Hooker's, and conſent to what his Lordſhip propoſed to prove out of thoſe doubtful books, if he would but conſent to the judgment of Mr. Hooker in the other five that were the undoubted books of Mr. Hooker.*

In this relation concerning theſe three doubtful books of Mr. Hooker's, my purpoſe was to enquire, then ſet down what I obſerved and know, which I have done, not as an engaged perſon, but indifferently; and now leave my reader to give ſentence, for their legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo as to leave others the ſame liberty of believing or diſbelieving them to be Mr. Hooker's: and it is obſervable, that as Mr. Hooker adviſed with Dr. Spencer in the deſign and manage of theſe books, ſo alſo, and chiefly with his dear pupil George Cranmer, (whoſe ſiſter was the wife of Dr. Spencer,) of which this following letter may be a teſtimony; and doth alſo give authority to ſome things mentioned both in the Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. Hooker; and is therefore added.

A

LETTER

FROM

BISHOP ANDREWES TO DR. PARRY,

CONCERNING

MR. HOOKER'S DEATH.

(FROM A MS. IN THE BODL. LIB.)

Salutem in Chriſto.

I CANNOT chooſe but write, though you do not: I never failed ſince I laſt ſaw you, but dayly prayed for him till this very inſtant you ſent this heavie news. I have hitherto prayed, *Serva nobis hunc:* now muſt I, *Da nobis alium.* Alas for our greate loſs; and when I ſay ours, though I meane yours and myne, yet much more the common: with the loſſe ſince they have of ſo greate a damage, the more ſad wee neede to bewayle them and ourſelves, who knowe his workes and his worth to be ſuch as behind him he hath not (that I knowe) left anie neere him. And whether I ſhall live to knowe anie neere him, I am in greate doubt, that I care not how manie and myſelf had redeemed his longer life to have done good in a better ſubject then he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a greate ſtroke in it) his father in lawe,

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that

that there be ſpecial care and regard for preſerving ſuch papers as he left, beſides the three laſt books expected. By preſerving I meane, that not only they be not embezelled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into greate hands, whoe will only have uſe of them *quatenus et quouſque*, and ſuppreſſe the reſt, or unhappily all: but rather into the hands of ſome of them that unfeinedly wiſhed him well, though of the meaner ſort; who may upon good aſſurance (very good aſſurance) be truſted with them; for it is pitie they ſhould admit anie limitation. Doe this, and doe it mature: it had bin more then time long ſince to have bin about it, if I had ſooner knowne it. If my word or letter would doe anie good to Mr. Churchman, it ſhould not want. But what cannot yourſelf or Mr. Sandys doe therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happie in that he ſhall gaine a weeke or two before he knowe of it. Almightie God comfort us over him! whoſe taking away I truſt I ſhall no longer live, then with grief I remember; therefore with grief becauſe with inward and moſt juſt honour I ever honoured him ſince I knew him,

Your aſſured

Poore loving Friend,

L. ANDREWES.

At the Court, 7 Nov. 1600.

GEORGE CRANMER's

LETTER

UNTO

Mr. RICHARD HOOKER.

February 1598.

WHAT poſterity is likely to judge of theſe matters concerning Church-diſcipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own age, within few years, upon better experience, hath already judged concerning the ſame. It may be remembered, that at firſt the greateſt part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The books then written, for the moſt part, ſavoured of the diſciplinary ſtile: it ſounded every where in pulpits, and in common phraſe of men's ſpeech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong courſe; many which impugned the Diſcipline, yet ſo impugned it, not as not being the better form of government, but as not being ſo convenient for our ſtate, in regard of dangerous innovations thereby like to grow; one man alone* there was, to ſpeak of, (whom let no ſuſpicion of flattery deprive of his deſerved commendation,) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, ſtood in the gap, and gave others reſpite to prepare themſelves to the defence,

* John Whitgift, the Archbiſhop.

which by the ſudden eagerneſs and violence of their adverſaries had otherwiſe been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own impreſs, *Vincit qui patitur*; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands ſuſtained, the world is witneſs, and what reward of honour above his adverſaries God hath beſtowed upon him, themſelves (though nothing glad thereof) muſt needs confeſs. Now of late years the heat of men towards the Diſcipline is greatly decayed, their judgments begin to ſway on the other ſide: the learned have weighed it, and found it light; wiſe men conceive ſome fear, leſt it prove not only not the beſt kind of government, but the very bane and deſtruction of all government. The cauſe of this change in men's opinions may be drawn from the general nature of error, diſguiſed and clothed with the name of truth; which is mightily and violently to poſſeſs men at firſt, but afterwards, the weakneſs thereof being by time diſcovered, to loſe that reputation which before it had gained. As by the outſide of an houſe the paſſers by are oftentimes deceived, till they ſee the conveniency of the rooms within; ſo, by the very name of Diſcipline and Reformation, men were drawn at firſt to caſt a fancy towards it; but now they have not contented themſelves only to paſs by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed houſe; they have entered in, even at the ſpecial requeſt of maſter-workmen and chief builders thereof; they have peruſed the rooms, the lights, the conveniences; they find them not anſwerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: ſo as now the Diſcipline, which at firſt triumphed over all, being unmaſked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

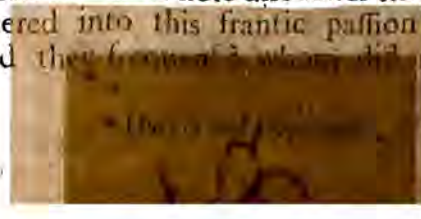
This cauſe of change in opinion concerning the Diſcipline is [illegible] to ſuch as by them have been [illegible] houſe there is more open, and [illegible] view of all, namely,

namely, the courſe of practice, which the reformers have had with us from the beginning. The firſt degree was only ſome ſmall difference about cap and ſurplice, but not ſuch as either bred diviſion in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the government eſtabliſhed. This was peaceable; the next degree more ſtirring. Admonitions were directed to the Parliament in peremptory ſort againſt our whole form of regiment; in defence of them, volumes were publiſhed in Engliſh, and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing. Devices were ſet on foot to erect the practice of the Diſcipline without authority; yet herein ſome regard of modeſty, ſome moderation was uſed. Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, firſt in writing by *Martin*, in whoſe kind of dealing theſe things may be obſerved; firſt, that whereas T. C. and others his great maſters had always before ſet out the Diſcipline as a queen, and as the daughter of God; he contrariwiſe, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a vice upon the ſtage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be ſuppoſed) upon this rare polity, that ſeeing the Diſcipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in ſecret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open railing (which to the vulgar is commonly moſt plauſible) the State Eccleſiaſtical might have been drawn into ſuch contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof ſhould have been moſt grateful to all men, and in manner deſired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know myſelf to be true) how ſome of them, although they could not for ſhame approve ſo lewd an action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cauſe, acknowledging therein the ſecret judgments of God againſt the Biſhops, and hoping that ſome good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their conſtruction. For, 4. Contrary to their expectation, that

that railing ſpirit did not only not further, but extremely diſgrace and prejudice the cauſe, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at firſt, to what outrage of contumely and ſlander they were at length proceeded; and were alſo likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was in fact; certain prophets * did ariſe, who deeming it not poſſible that God ſhould ſuffer that to be undone, which they did ſo fiercely deſire to have done, namely, that his holy ſaints, the favourers and fathers of the Diſcipline, ſhould be enlarged, and delivered from perſecution; and ſeeing no means of deliverance ordinary, were fain to perſuade themſelves that God muſt needs raiſe ſome extraordinary means; and being perſuaded of none ſo well as of themſelves, they forthwith muſt needs be the inſtruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themſelves an aſſured hope, that, upon their preaching out of a peaſe-cart, all the multitude would have preſently joined unto them, and in amazement of mind have aſked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an anſwer far unlike to that of St. Peter, *Such and ſuch are men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; ſuch and ſuch are the dear children of God, let them be advanced.* Of two of theſe men, it is meet to ſpeak with all commiſeration, yet ſo that others by their example may receive inſtruction, and withal ſome light may appear, what ſtirring affections the Diſcipline is likely to inſpire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any man doubt of what ſociety they were, or if the reformers diſclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let theſe points be conſidered. 1. Whoſe aſſociates they were before they entered into this frantic paſſion? whoſe ſermons did they frequent? whom did they admire?



2. Even

2. Even when they were entering into it, whoſe advice did they require? And when they were in, whoſe approbation? whom advertiſed they of their purpoſe? whoſe aſſiſtance by prayers did they requeſt? But we deal injuriouſly with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they diſcloſe it to the magiſtrate, that it might be ſuppreſſed? or were they not rather content to ſtand aloof off, and ſee the end of it, and loth to quench the ſpirit? No doubt theſe mad practitioners were of their ſociety, with whom before, and in the practice of their madneſs, they had moſt affinity. Hereof, read Dr. Bancroft's book.

A third inducement may be to diſlike of the Diſcipline, if we conſider not only how far the reformers themſelves have proceeded, but what others upon their foundation have built. Here come the Brownifts in the firſt rank, their lineal deſcendants, who have ſeized upon a number of ſtrange opinions; whereof although their anceſtors, the reformers, were never actually poſſeſſed, yet by right and intereſt from them derived, the Browniſts and Barrowiſts have taken poſſeſſion of them: for if the poſitions of the reformers be true, I cannot ſee how the main and general concluſions of Browniſm ſhould be falſe; for upon theſe two points, as I conceive, they ſtand.

1. That, becauſe we have no Church, they are to ſever themſelves from us.

2. That without civil authority they are to erect a Church of their own.

And if the former of theſe be true, the latter, I ſuppoſe, will follow: for if above all things men be to regard their ſalvation; and if out of the Church there be no ſalvation; it followeth, that, if we have no Church, we have no means of ſalvation: and therefore ſeparation from us, in that reſpect, is both lawful and neceſſary. As alſo, that men ſo ſeparated from the falſe and counterfeit Church are to aſſociate

ate themſelves unto ſome Church; not to our's; to the Popiſh much leſs; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all theſe inferences being this, *That in our Church there is no means of ſalvation*, is out of the reformers' principles moſt clearly to be proved. For whereſoever any matter of faith unto ſalvation neceſſary is denied, there can be no means of ſalvation: but in the Church of England, the Diſcipline by them accounted a matter of faith, and neceſſary to ſalvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the profeſſors thereof oppreſſed. *Ergo.*

Again, (but this reaſon perhaps is weak,) every true Church of Chriſt acknowledgeth the whole Goſpel of Chriſt: the Diſcipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Goſpel, and yet by our Church reſiſted. *Ergo.*

Again, the Diſcipline is eſſentially united to the Church: by which term eſſentially, they muſt mean either an eſſential part, or an eſſential property. Both which ways it muſt needs be, that where that eſſential Diſcipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the Browniſts there ſhould be appointed a ſolemn diſputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes ſo earneſt challengers; it doth not yet appear what other anſwer they could poſſibly frame to theſe and the like arguments, wherewith they might be preſſed, but fairly to deny the concluſion, (for all the premiſes are their own,) or rather ingenuouſly to reverſe their own principles before laid, whereon ſo foul abſurdities have been ſo firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the Diſcipline, I leave to your better remembrance: but above all points, I am deſirous this one ſhould be ſtrongly enforced againſt them, because it [illegible] moſt of all, and is of all others (as I [illegible]) the moſt unanſwerable; [illegible] ſay, that you would

would be heartily glad theſe their poſitions might ſo be ſalved, as the Browniſts might not appear to have iſſued out of their loins; but until that be done, they muſt give us leave to think, that they had caſt the ſeed whereout theſe tares are grown.

Another ſort of men there are, which have been content to run on with the reformers for a time, and to make them poor inſtruments of their own deſigns. Theſe are a ſort of godleſs politics, who perceiving the plot of Diſcipline to conſiſt of theſe two parts, the overthrow of Epiſcopal, and the erection of Preſbyterial authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to join with them in the deſtructive part of Diſcipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other alſo they ſhall find them as ready. But when time ſhall come, it may be they would be as loth to be yoked with that kind of regiment, as now they are willing to be releaſed from this. Theſe men's ends in all their actions is diſtraction; their pretence and colour, reformation. Thoſe things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction, they have kept the Clergy always in awe; and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of equality among Miniſters, they have made way to their own purpoſes for devouring Cathedral churches, and Biſhops' livings. 3. By exclaiming againſt abuſes in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the civil State more covertly; for ſuch is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, ſo as being poſſeſſed with a diſlike or liking of any one thing, many other, in the mean time, may eſcape them without being perceived. 4. They have ſought to diſgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in men's minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that men of learning, and eſpecially of the Clergy, which are employed in the chiefeſt

chiefeſt kind of learning, are not to be admitted, or ſparingly admitted to matters of ſtate; contrary to the practice of all well-governed commonwealths, and of our own, till theſe late years.

A third ſort of men there are, though not deſcended from the reformers, yet in part raiſed and greatly ſtrengthened by them, namely, the curſed crew of Atheiſts. This alſo is one of thoſe points which I am deſirous you ſhould handle moſt effectually, and ſtrain yourſelf therein to all points of motion and affection, as in that of the Browniſts, to all ſtrength and ſinews of reaſon. This is a ſort moſt damnable, and yet by the general ſuſpicion of the world at this day moſt common. The cauſes of it, which are in the parties themſelves, although you handle in the beginning of the fifth book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occaſions of help and furtherance, which by the reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two; ſenſeleſs preaching, and diſgracing of the miniſtry: for how ſhould not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of reaſon nor by authority of perſons is maintained? But in the parties themſelves, theſe two cauſes I conceive of Atheiſm. 1. More abundance of wit than judgment, and of witty than judicious learning, whereby they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth. They are not therefore men of ſound learning for the moſt part, but ſmatterers; neither is their kind of diſpute ſo much by force of argument, as by ſcoffing: which humour of ſcoffing, and turning matters moſt ſerious into merriment, is now become ſo common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the *ſeat of ſcorners*, nor what the Apoſtles by foretelling of *ſcorners to come*; our own age hath verified their ſpeech unto us; which alſo may be an argument againſt theſe ſcoffers and Atheiſts themſelves, ſeeing it hath been ſo many ages ago foretold, that ſuch men the latter days of the

the world ſhould afford, which could not be done by any other Spirit, ſave that whereunto things future and preſent are alike. And even for the main queſtion of the Reſurrection, whereat they ſtick ſo mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men ſhould in the latter times ſay, *Where is the promiſe of his coming?* Againſt the creation, the ark, and divers other points, exceptions are ſaid to be taken; the ground whereof is ſuperfluity of wit, without ground of learning and judgment.

A ſecond cauſe of Atheiſm is Senſuality, which maketh men deſirous to remove all ſtops and impediments of their wicked life; amongſt which, becauſe Religion is the chiefeſt, ſo as neither in this life without ſhame can they perſiſt therein, nor (if that be true) without torment in the life to come; they whet their wits to annihilate the joys of heaven, wherein they ſee (if any ſuch be) they can have no part; and likewiſe the pains of hell, wherein their portion muſt needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deſerve thoſe pains, but that, deſerving them, there may be no ſuch pains to ſeize upon them. But what conceit can be imagined more baſe, than that man ſhould ſtrive to perſuade himſelf, even againſt the ſecret inſtinct (no doubt) of his own mind, that his Soul is as the ſoul of a beaſt, mortal and corruptible with the body? Againſt which barbarous opinion, their own Atheiſm is a very ſtrong argument; for were not the Soul a nature ſeparable from the body, how could it enter into diſcourſe of things merely ſpiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the body? Surely the Soul were not able to conceive any thing of heaven, no not ſo much as to diſpute againſt heaven and againſt God, if there were not in it ſomewhat heavenly, and derived from God.

The laſt which have received ſtrength and encouragement from the reformers, are Papiſts; againſt whom, although they are moſt bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage.

For

For what can any enemy rather deſire, than the breach and diſſenſion of thoſe which are confederates againſt him? Wherein they are to remember, that if our communion with Papiſts in ſome few ceremonies do ſo much ſtrengthen them, as is pretended; how much more doth this diviſion and rent among ourſelves; eſpecially ſeeing it is maintained to be, not in light matters only, but even in matter of faith and ſalvation? Which over-reaching ſpeech of their's, becauſe it is ſo open to advantage for the Barrowiſt and the Papiſt, we are to wiſh and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been ſpoken rather in heat of affection, than with ſoundneſs of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that creature of Diſcipline which themſelves have bred, nouriſhed, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did ſoon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to yourſelf) to another diſcourſe, which I think very meet to be handled, either here or elſewhere at large; the parts whereof may be theſe.

1. That in this cauſe between them and us, men are to ſever the proper and eſſential points in controverſy, from thoſe which are accidental. The moſt eſſential and proper are theſe two: overthrow of Epiſcopal, erection of Preſbyterial authority. But in theſe two points whoſoever joineth with them, is accounted of their number; whoſoever in all other points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the authority of Biſhops not unlawful and of Elders not neceſſary, may juſtly be ſevered from their retinue. Thoſe things therefore which either in the perſons, or in the laws and orders themſelves, are faulty, may be complained of, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpoſe. For what if all errors by them ſuppoſed in our Liturgy were amended, even according to their own hearts' deſire; if Non reſidents, Pluralities, and the like, were utterly taken away; are

their

their Lay-elders therefore preſently authoriſed, or their ſovereign Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction eſtabliſhed?

But even in their complaining againſt the outward and accidental matters in Church-government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propoſe to themſelves. For in declaiming againſt abuſes, their meaning is not to have them redreſſed, but, by diſgracing the preſent ſtate, to make way for their own Diſcipline. As therefore in Venice, if any ſenator ſhould diſcourſe againſt the power of their ſenate, as being either too ſovereign or too weak in government, with purpoſe to draw their authority to a moderation, it might well be ſuffered; but not ſo, if it ſhould appear he ſpake with purpoſe to induce another ſtate by depraving the preſent: ſo in all cauſes belonging either to Church or Commonwealth, we are to have regard what mind the complaining part doth bear, whether of amendment or innovation, and accordingly, either to ſuffer or ſuppreſs it. Their objection therefore is frivolous, *Why may not men ſpeak againſt abuſes?* Yes; but with deſire to cure the part affected, and not to deſtroy the whole. 2. A ſecond fault is in their manner of complaining, not only becauſe it is for the moſt part in bitter and reproachful terms, but alſo it is to the common people, who are judges incompetent and inſufficient, both to determine any thing amiſs; and for want of ſkill and authority to amend it. Which alſo diſcovereth their intent and purpoſe to be rather deſtructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, Thoſe very exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuſe as impious, which if they may appear to be ſuch, God forbid they ſhould be maintained.

Againſt the reſt it is only alleged, that they are idle ceremonies without uſe, and that better and more profitable might be deviſed; wherein they are doubly deceived: for neither is it a ſufficient plea to ſay, this muſt give place, becauſe a better may be

deviſed; becauſe in our judgments of better and worſe, we oftentimes conceive amiſs, when we compare thoſe things which are in device, with thoſe which are in practice: for the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and trial they be diſcovered; the others are already manifeſt and open to all. But laſt of all, (which is a point in my opinion of great regard, and which I am deſirous to have enlarged,) they do not ſee that for the moſt part when they ſtrike at the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, they ſecretly wound the Civil ſtate: for perſonal faults, what can be ſaid againſt the Church, which may not alſo agree to the Commonwealth? In both, ſtateſmen have always been, and will be always, men, ſometimes blinded with error, moſt commonly perverted by paſſions: many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuſes which they pretend to be in the laws themſelves, when they inveigh againſt non-reſidence, do they take it a matter lawful or expedient in the Civil ſtate, for a man to have a great and gainful office in the north, and himſelf continually remaining in the ſouth? He that hath an office, let him attend his office. When they condemn plurality of livings ſpiritual to the pit of hell; what think they of infinity of temporal promotions? By the great philoſopher, *Pol. lib.* ii. *cap.* 9. it is forbidden as a thing moſt dangerous to Commonwealths, that by the ſame man many great offices ſhould be exerciſed. When they deride our ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their exceptions, even to thoſe civil ceremonies, which at the coronation, in Parliament, and all courts of juſtice are uſed? Were it hard to argue even againſt Circumciſion, the ordinance of God, as being a cruel ceremony; againſt the Paſſover, as being ridiculous, ſhod, girt, a ſtaff in their hand, to eat a lamb?

To conclude: You may exhort the Clergy, (or, what if you direct your concluſion not to the Clergy

in

in general, but only to the learned in or of both Univerſities ?) you may exhort them to a due conſideration of all things, and to a right eſteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to ſtand. For it oftentimes falleth out, that what men have either deviſed themſelves, or greatly delighted in, the price and the excellency thereof they do admire above deſert. The chiefeſt labour of a Chriſtian ſhould be to know; of a Miniſter, to *preach Chriſt crucified*; in regard whereof, not only worldly things, but things otherwiſe precious, even the Diſcipline itſelf, is vile and baſe. Whereas now, by the heat of contention and violence of affection, the zeal of men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to *preach Chriſt crucified*, the *mortification of the fleſh*, the *renewing of the Spirit*; not thoſe things which in time of ſtrife ſeem precious, but (paſſions being allayed) are vain and childiſh.

GEORGE CRANMER.

This

*This Epitaph was long ſince preſented to the world in memory of Mr. Hooker, by Sir William Cooper; who alſo built him a fair monument in Borne Church, and acknowledges him to have been his ſpiritual father.

THOUGH nothing can be ſpoke worthy his fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious name,
Judicious Hooker; though this coſt be ſpent
On him that hath a laſting monument
In his own books; yet, ought we to expreſs,
If not his worth, yet our reſpectfulneſs.
Church-ceremonies he maintained: then why
Without all ceremony ſhould he die?
Was it becauſe his life and death ſhould be
Both equal patterns of humility?
Or, that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to aſk, why had he none?
Yet he that lay ſo long obſcurely low,
Doth now preferred to greater honours go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more wiſe;
Humility is the true way to riſe:
And God in me this leſſon did inſpire,
To bid this humble man, Friend, ſit up higher.

W. C.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

THE

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HIS GRACE,

PRIMATE AND METROPOLITAN

OF ALL ENGLAND.

MOST REVEREND IN CHRIST,

THE long continued, and more than ordinary favour, which hitherto your Grace hath been pleaſed to ſhew towards me, may juſtly claim at my hands ſome thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which conſideration, as alſo for that I embrace willingly the ancient received courſe, and conveniency of that diſcipline, which teacheth inferior degrees and orders in the Church of God, to ſubmit their writings to the ſame authority, from which their allowable dealings whatſoever, in ſuch affairs, muſt receive approbation, I nothing fear but

The cauſe of writing this general Diſcourſe.

that your accuſtomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of theſe my ſimple and mean labours, beſtowed for the neceſſary juſtification of laws heretofore made queſtionable, becauſe, as I take it, they were not perfectly underſtood: for ſurely, I cannot find any great cauſe of juſt complaint, that good laws have ſo much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To ſeek reformation of evil laws, is a commendable endeavour; but for us the more neceſſary, is a ſpeedy redreſs of ourſelves. We have on all ſides loſt much of our firſt fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways, we have reaſon to exhort with St. Gregory*, Ὅπερ ἦμεν γενώμεθα, *Let us return again unto that which we ſometimes were*; but touching the exchange of laws in practice, with laws in device, which, they ſay, are better for the ſtate of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cauſe we find to conclude μένομεν ὅπερ ἐσμὲν, *although we continue the ſame we are, the harm is not great.* The fervent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by public authority are always confident and bold-ſpirited men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldom free from error. The errors which we ſeek to reform in this kind of

* Greg. Naz.

men,

men, are ſuch as both received at your own hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent have been proceeded in with that moderation, which uſeth by patience to ſuppreſs boldneſs, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherein conſidering the nature and kind of theſe controverſies, the dangerous ſequels whereunto they were like to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught wiſdom, I may boldly aver concerning the firſt, that as the weightieſt conflicts the Church hath had, were thoſe which touched the head, the perſon of our Saviour Chriſt; and the next of importance, thoſe queſtions that are at this day between us and the Church of Rome, about the actions of the body of the Church of God; ſo theſe which have laſtly ſprung up from complements, rites, and ceremonies of Church-actions, are in truth, for the greateſt part, ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſineſs doth make them hard to be diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeem to be the cauſe, why divers of the reverend Prelacy, and other moſt judicious men, have eſpecially beſtowed their pains about the matter of juriſdiction. Notwithſtanding, led by your Grace's example, myſelf have thought it convenient to wade through the whole cauſe, following that method which ſearcheth the truth by the cauſes of truth. Now, if any marvel, how a thing in itſelf ſo weak could import any great danger, they muſt conſider

not ſo much how ſmall the ſpark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire. Bodies politic being ſubject as much as natural to diſſolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more eſtates overthrown through diſeaſes bred within themſelves, than through violence from abroad; becauſe our manner is always to caſt a more doubtful and a more ſuſpicious eye towards that, over which we know we have leaſt power; and therefore, the fear of external dangers cauſeth forces at home to be the more united. It is to all ſorts a kind of bridle, it maketh virtuous minds watchful, it holdeth contrary diſpoſitions in ſuſpenſe, and it ſetteth thoſe wits on work in better things, which could elſe be employed in worſe; whereas on the other ſide, domeſtical evils, for that we think we can maſter them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward, till it be too late to recall them. In the mean while the Commonwealth is not only through unſoundneſs ſo far impaired, as thoſe evils chance to prevail; but farther alſo, through oppoſition ariſing between the unſound parts and the ſound, where each endeavoureth to draw evermore contrary ways, till deſtruction in the end bring the whole to ruin.

To reckon up how many cauſes there are, by force whereof diviſions may grow in a Commonwealth, is not here neceſſary. Such as riſe from variety in matter of Religion, are not only the

the fartheſt ſpread, becauſe in Religion all men preſume themſelves intereſted alike, but they are alſo for the moſt part hotlier proſecuted and purſued than other ſtrifes; for as much as coldneſs, which in other contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in theſe ſo favourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrel ſtriveth againſt the current and ſtream of laws, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt contented not to call to mind how errors have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of reaſon, whereupon they would ſeem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is caſt towards them, and proceedeth from other cauſes. For there are divers motives drawing men to favour mightily thoſe opinions, wherein their perſuaſions are but weakly ſettled; and if the paſſions of the mind be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the underſtanding, they make it apt to believe upon very ſlender warrant, and to imagine infallible truth, where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth.

Thus were thoſe poor ſeduced creatures, Hacket and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeak or think of, but with much commiſeration and pity. Thus were they trained by fair ways firſt, accounting their own extraordinary love to his Diſcipline, a token of God's more than ordinary love towards them. From hence they grew to a ſtrong conceit, that God,

God, which had moved them to love his Diſcipline, more than the common ſort of men did, might have a purpoſe by their means to bring a wonderful work to paſs, beyond all men's expectation, for the advancement of the throne of Diſcipline, by ſome tragical execution, with the particularities whereof it was not ſafe for their friends to be made acquainted; of whom they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary motions of the Spirit in theſe days; and withal requeſt to be commended unto God by their prayers, whatſoever ſhould be undertaken by men of God, in mere zeal to his glory, and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this unuſual and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heavieſt worldly judgments, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden mercy, gave them over to their own inventions, and left them made in the end an example for headſtrong and inconſiderate zeal, no leſs fearful than Achitophel for proud and irreligious wiſdom. If a ſpark of error have thus prevailed, falling even where the wood was green and fartheſt off, to all men's thinking, from any inclination unto furious attempts; muſt not the peril thereof be greater in men whoſe minds are of themſelves as dry fuel, apt beforehand unto tumults, ſeditions, and broils? But by this we ſee in a cauſe of Religion, to how deſperate adventures men will

will ſtrain themſelves for relief of their own part, having law and authority againſt them.

Furthermore, let not any man think, that in ſuch diviſions, either part can free itſelf from inconveniences, ſuſtained not only through a kind of truce, which virtue on both ſides doth make with vice, during war between truth and error; but alſo, in that there are hereby ſo fit occaſions miniſtered for men to purchaſe to themſelves well-willers by the colour under which they oftentimes proſecute quarrels of envy or inveterate malice, and eſpecially becauſe contentions were as yet never able to prevent two evils: the one a mutual exchange of unſeemly and unjuſt diſgraces, offered by men, whoſe tongues and paſſions are out of rule; the other a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by ſuch as ſtudy how to work upon all occurrents, with moſt advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our antagoniſts in theſe controverſies may peradventure have met with ſome, not unlike to Ithacius*, who mightily bending himſelf by all means againſt the hereſy of Priſcillian, (the hatred of which one evil was all the virtue he had,) became ſo wiſe in the end, that every man, careful of virtuous converſation, ſtudious of Scripture, and given unto any abſtinence in diet, was ſet down in his calendar of ſuſpected Priſcillianiſts, for whom it ſhould be expedient to approve their

* Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. lib. ii. cap. 50.

ſoundneſs

ſoundneſs of faith, by a more licentious and looſe behaviour. Such proctors and patrons the truth might ſpare; yet is not their groſſneſs ſo intolerable, as, on the contrary ſide, the ſcurrilous and more than ſatirical immodeſty of Martiniſm; the firſt publiſhed ſchedules whereof being brought to the hands of a grave and a very honourable knight, with ſignification given, that the book would refreſh his ſpirits, he took it, ſaw what the title was, read over an unſavoury ſentence or two, and delivered back the libel with this anſwer, *I am ſorry you are of the mind to be ſolaced with theſe ſports, and ſorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own.* But as theſe ſores on all hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God have been more ſoftly and cloſely given. It being perceived, that the plot of Diſcipline did not only bend itſelf to reform ceremonies, but ſeek farther to erect a popular authority of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, together with all other ornaments and means, whereby any difference or inequality is upheld in the eccleſiaſtical order, towards this deſtructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers although peradventure not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, not without greater hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings

proceedings in the buſineſs of God and her Majeſty's ſervice, than otherwiſe much more weighty adverſaries had been able by their own power to have brought to paſs. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions ſuppreſſed, than the contrary much divulged. And becauſe the wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſſed with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoever, ſundry other in the mean time may eſcape them unperceived: therefore if men deſirous to have their virtues noted do in this reſpect grieve at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth and darkeneth theirs, it cannot be choſen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church; theſe tunes come always moſt acceptable to them, whoſe odious and corrupt dealings in ſecular affairs both paſs by that mean the more covertly, and, whatſoever happen, do alſo the leaſt feel the ſcourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerve. All this conſidered, as behoveth the ſequel of duty on our part, is only that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmleſs diſcretion, the wiſdom of ſerpents, tempered with the innocent meekneſs of doves, for this world will teach them wiſdom that have capacity to apprehend it. Our wiſdom in this caſe muſt be ſuch, as doth

doth not propoſe to itſelf τὸ ἴδιον, our own particular, the partial and immoderate deſire whereof poiſoneth whereſoever it taketh place: but the ſcope and mark which we are to aim at is τὸ κοινὸν, the public and common good of all; for the eaſier procurement whereof, our diligence muſt ſearch out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Hiſtories, the Laws and practices of all Churches, the mutual conference of all men's collections and obſervations may afford: our induſtry muſt even anatomize every particle of that body, which we are to uphold ſound; and becauſe, be it never ſo true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a ſmall thing perſuadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth, that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means thoſe evils, whereby the hearts of men are loſt; which evils for the moſt part being perſonal, do arm in ſuch ſort the adverſaries of God and his Church againſt us, that if through our too much neglect and ſecurity the ſame ſhould run on, ſoon might we feel our eſtate brought to thoſe lamentable terms, whereof this hard and heavy ſentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occaſions: **Dolens, dico, gemens denuncio, ſacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu ſtare non poterit.* But the gracious providence of Almighty God

* Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

hath,

hath, I truſt, put theſe thorns of contradiction in our ſides, leſt that ſhould ſteal upon the Church in a ſlumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his aſſiſtance, may be turned away from us, bending thereunto ourſelves with conſtancy, conſtancy in labour to do all men good, conſtancy in prayer unto God for all men; her eſpecially, whoſe ſacred power, matched with incomparable goodneſs of nature, hath hitherto been God's moſt happy inſtrument, by him miraculouſly kept for works of ſo miraculous preſervation and ſafety unto others; that as, *By the Sword of God and Gideon,* was ſometime the cry of the people of Iſrael, ſo it might deſervedly be at this day the joyful ſong of innumerable multitudes, yea, the emblem of ſome eſtates and dominions in the world, and (which muſt be eternally confeſſed even with tears of thankfulneſs) the true inſcription, ſtile, or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this realm, *By the goodneſs of Almighty God, and his ſervant Elizabeth, we are.* That God, who is able to make mortality immortal, give her ſuch future continuance as may be no leſs glorious unto all poſterity, than the days of her regiment paſt have been happy unto ourſelves; and for his moſt dear Anointed's ſake, grant them all proſperity, whoſe labours, cares, and counſels, unfeignedly are referred to her endleſs welfare, through his unſpeakable mercy, unto whom we all owe everlaſting praiſe. In which

Jud. vii. 20.

which deſire I will here reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace to pardon my great boldneſs, and God to multiply his bleſſings upon them that fear his name.

Your Grace's in all duty,

RICHARD HOOKER.

A PRE-

A

PREFACE

To them that ſeek (as they term it) the

REFORMATION OF THE LAWS

AND

ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THOUGH for no other cauſe, yet for this; that poſterity may know we have not looſely through ſilence permitted things to paſs away as in a dream, there ſhall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God, eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and their careful endeavours which would have upheld the ſame. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but ſeem to be born of him, it is not the ſea of your gall and bitterneſs that ſhall ever drown,) I have no great cauſe to look for other, than the ſelf-ſame portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and ſentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace ſhall (notwithſtanding man's nature, too impatient

The cauſe and occaſion of handling theſe things, and what might be wiſhed in them, for whoſe ſakes ſo much pains is taken.

patient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly, to ſuffer all things for that work ſake, which we covet to perform. The wonderful zeal and fervor wherewith ye have withſtood the received orders of this Church, was the firſt thing which cauſed me to enter into conſideration, whether (as all your publiſhed books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Chriſtian man fearing God, ſtand bound to join with you for the furtherance of that which ye term *the Lord's Diſcipline*. Wherein I muſt plainly confeſs unto you, that before I examined your ſundry declarations in that behalf, it could not ſettle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly ſuch numbers of otherwiſe right well-affected and moſt religiouſly inclined minds, had ſome marvellous reaſonable inducements which led them with ſo great earneſtneſs that way. But when once, as near as my ſlender ability would ſerve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the Apoſtle's advice and counſel in ſuch caſes, whereby he willeth to *try all things*, and was come at the length ſo far, that there remained only the other clauſe to be ſatisfied, wherein he concludeth, that what good is, muſt be held; there was in my poor underſtanding no remedy, but to ſet down this as my final reſolute perſuaſion. Surely the preſent form of Church-government, which the laws of this land have eſtabliſhed, is ſuch, as no law of God, nor reaſon of Man, hath hitherto been alleged of force ſufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermoſt of their power withſtand the alteration thereof. Contrariwiſe, the other, which, inſtead of it, we are required to accept, is only by error and miſconceit named the ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt, no one proof as yet brought forth, whereby it may clearly appear to be ſo in very deed. The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands; heartily beſeeching you, even by the meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, whom I truſt ye love, that, as ye tender the peace

and

and quietneſs of this Church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the crown and glory of a chriſtianly diſpoſed mind; if your own ſouls, hearts, and conſciences (the ſound integrity whereof can but hardly ſtand with the refuſal of truth in perſonal reſpects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things moſt dear and precious unto you; *Let not the faith which ye have in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be blemiſhed with partialities*, regard not who it is which ſpeaketh, but weigh only what is ſpoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himſelf as an adverſary againſt the truth, which ye have already embraced, but the words of one who deſireth even to embrace together with you the ſelf-ſame truth, if it be the truth; and for that cauſe (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burthenſome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer acceſs whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up the very bottom, how, and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we live in began to make firſt trial thereof. Jam. ii. 1.

The firſt eſtabliſhment of new diſcipline by Mr. Calvin's induſtry in the Church of Geneva; and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt ourſelves.

2. A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French Church did enjoy, ſince the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that moſt bleſſed fountain, *the Book of Life*, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides; till being occaſioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva. Which city, the Biſhop and Clergy thereof had a little before (as ſome affirm) forſaken, being of likelihood frighted with the people's ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh religion, the event of which enterpriſe they thought it not ſafe for themſelves to wait for in that

place. At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or power over them, but officers choſen by the people out of themſelves, to order all things with public conſent. For ſpiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the paſtors of their ſouls, by perſuaſion, could win them unto. Calvin being admitted one of their preachers and a Divinity Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was, that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatſoever itſelf liſteth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the action, (albeit the reſt were all againſt it,) they moved, and in the end perſuaded, with much ado, the people to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, firſt, never to admit the Papacy amongſt them again; and, ſecondly, to live in obedience unto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their religion, and the form of their Eccleſiaſtical government, as thoſe their true and faithful Miniſters of God's word had agreeably to Scripture ſet down for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in uſe, the people alſo (what cauſes moving them thereunto, themſelves beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths, the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into diſlike with ſome Churches near about them, the benefit of whoſe good friendſhip their ſtate could not well lack. It was the manner of thoſe times, (whether through men's deſire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterpriſes, or elſe becauſe the quickneſs of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch; ſo it was,) that every particular Church did that within itſelf, which ſome few of their own thought good, by whom the reſt

reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelves, yet ſmall common conference beforehand might have eaſed them of much after trouble. But a great inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the Church of Rome, than the reſt before had been; whereupon grew marvellous great diſſimilitudes, and, by reaſon thereof, jealouſies, heart-burnings, jars, and diſcords amongſt them. Which notwithſtanding might have eaſily been prevented, if the orders, which each Church did think fit and convenient for itſelf, had not ſo peremptorily been eſtabliſhed under that high commanding form, which rendered them unto the people as things everlaſtingly required by the law of that Lord of lords, againſt whoſe ſtatutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to paſs, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemn another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was between them; whereas the ſelf-ſame orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in more wary and ſuſpenſe manner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould give the opportunity of ſome general conference, what might be beſt for them afterwards to do: this, I ſay, had both prevented all occaſion of juſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerved a greater liberty unto the authors themſelves, of entering into farther conſultation afterwards. Which though never ſo neceſſary, they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after reſolute to maintain. Calvin therefore, and the other two his aſſociates, ſtiffly refuſing to adminiſter the holy communion to ſuch as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, ſubmit themſelves unto the orders which their ſolemn oath had bound them to obey, were,

in that quarrel, baniſhed the town. A few years after (ſuch was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their miniſters being fallen void, they were not before ſo willing to be rid of their learned paſtor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loth to part with him, had not unreſiſtible earneſtneſs been uſed. One of the town-miniſters, that ſaw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this ſort. *The Senate of two hundred being aſſembled, they all crave Calvin. The next day a general Convocation, they cry in like ſort again all, We will have Calvin, that good and learned man, Chriſt's miniſter. This*, ſaith he, *when I underſtood, I could not chooſe but praiſe God*; *nor was I able to judge otherwiſe, than that this was the Lord's doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes*; *and that the ſtone which the builders refuſed was now made the head of the corner.* The other two whom they had thrown out (together with Calvin) they were content ſhould enjoy their exile. Many cauſes might lead them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, his yielding unto them in one thing, might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſs of condeſcending further unto them. For in his abſence he had perſuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himſelf did better like of common bread to be uſed in the Euchariſt, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, than cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Again, they ſaw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was ſpread, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly ejected him. Beſides it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the world might many ways ſtand the poor town in great ſtead: as the truth is, their miniſters' foreign eſtimation hitherto hath been the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatſoever ſecret reſpects were likely

Epiſt. Cal. 24.

Luke xx. 17.

to

to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home. He ripely conſidered how groſs a thing it were for men of his quality, wiſe and grave men, to live with ſuch a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them; as their miniſters, both himſelf and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to underſtand, that if he did become their teacher again, they muſt be content to admit a complete form of Diſcipline, which both they and alſo their paſtors ſhould now be ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve for ever after: of which Diſcipline, the main and principal parts were theſe. A ſtanding Eccleſiaſtical Court to be eſtabliſhed; perpetual Judges in that Court to be their Miniſters; others of the people to be annually choſen (twice ſo many in number as they) to be Judges together with them in the ſame Court. Theſe two ſorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining of all kind of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and authority, to convent, to control, to puniſh, as far as with excommunication, whomſoever they ſhould think worthy, none either ſmall or great excepted. This device, I ſee not, how the wiſeſt at that time living could have bettered, if we duly conſider what the preſent ſtate of Geneva did then require. For their Biſhop and his Clergy being (as it is ſaid) departed from them by moon-light, or howſoever, being departed, to chooſe in his room any other Biſhop, had been a thing altogether impoſſible. And for their miniſters to ſeek, that themſelves alone might have coercive power over the whole Church, would perhaps have been hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo frank an offer was made, that, for every one miniſter, there ſhould be two of the people to ſit and give voice in the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory, what inconvenience could they eaſily find, which themſelves might not be able always to remedy? Howbeit (as evermore the ſim-

pler ſort are, even when they ſee no apparent cauſe, jealous, notwithſtanding, over the ſecret intents and purpoſes of wiſer men) this propoſition of his did ſomewhat trouble them. Of the Miniſters themſelves which had ſtayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, ſome, upon knowledge of the people's earneſt intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of ſubmiſſion, and aſſured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it ſhould like him to hearken unto that public ſuit. But yet miſdoubting what might happen, if this Diſcipline did go forward, they objected againſt it, the example of other reformed Churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeſt place and countenance amongſt the laity profeſſed with greater ſtomach their judgments, that ſuch a Diſcipline was little better than Popiſh tyranny, diſguiſed and tendered unto them under a new form. This ſort, it may be, had ſome fear that the filling up of the ſeats in the Conſiſtory with ſo great a number of laymen, was but to pleaſe the minds of the people, to the end, they might think their own ſway ſomewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their paſtor's learning would be at all times of force to over-perſuade ſimple men, who, knowing the time of their own preſidentſhip to be but ſhort, would always ſtand in fear of their miniſter's perpetual authority. And among the miniſters themſelves, one being ſo far in eſtimation above the reſt, the voices of the reſt were likely to be given for the moſt part reſpectively with a kind of ſecret dependency and awe: ſo that in ſhew, a marvellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſtical was to govern; but in effect one only man ſhould, as the ſpirit and ſoul of the reſidue, do all in all. But what did theſe vain ſurmiſes boot? Brought they were now to ſo ſtrait an iſſue, that of two things, they muſt chooſe one: namely, whether they would, to their endleſs diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſs diſmiſs him, whoſe reſtitution they had in

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ſo important a manner deſired, or elſe condeſcend unto that demand, wherein he was reſolute, either to have it or to leave them. They thought it better to be ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad diſcredited. Wherefore, in the end, thoſe orders were on all ſides aſſented unto, with no leſs alacrity of mind, than cities, unable to hold out longer, are wont to ſhew when they take conditions, ſuch as liketh him to offer them, which hath them in the narrow ſtraits of advantage. Not many years were overpaſſed, before theſe twice-ſworn men adventured to give their laſt and hotteſt aſſault to the fortreſs of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly granting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that under their town-ſeal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the Elderſhip had excommunicated: further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurdity, that to the ſame Senate it ſhould belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to abſolve whom it pleaſed them: clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin: *Before* (ſaith he) *this decree take place, either my blood or baniſhment ſhall ſign it.* Again, two days before the communion ſhould be celebrated, this ſpeech was publickly to like effect: *Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy, to them whom the Church hath judged deſpiſers.* Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends adviſed for that time not to uſe the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelf in the Church, till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the communion quietly miniſtered, and ſome likelihood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles, without any more ado; that very day in the afternoon, beſides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary ſermon, he telleth them, That becauſe he neither had learned nor taught to ſtrive with ſuch as are in authority; *therefore* (ſaith he) *the caſe ſo ſtanding,*

ing, as now it doth, let me uſe theſe words of the Apoſtle unto you, I commend you unto God, and the word of his grace; and ſo bad them heartily adieu. It ſometimes cometh to paſs, that the readieſt way which a wiſe man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for, according to their wonted manner, they ſtill continued only conſtant in unconſtancy) to gather themſelves together, and for a time to ſuſpend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities, concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to have done at the firſt, before they gave any aſſent unto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them; but now to do it, was as much as to ſay in effect, that they would play their parts on a ſtage. Calvin therefore diſpatcheth with all expedition his letters unto ſome principal paſtor in every of thoſe cities, craving earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole ſtate of religion and piety in that Church did ſo much depend: that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unleſs thoſe four cities, by their good means, might be brought to give ſentence with the miniſters of Geneva, when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them; yea, ſo to give it, that two things it might effectually contain: the one an abſolute approbation of the Diſcipline of Geneva, as conſonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other, an earneſt admonition not to innovate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein, as touching both points, was ſatisfied. For albeit, the ſaid Helvetian Churches did never as yet obſerve that Diſcipline, nevertheleſs the Senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning theſe three queſtions: *Firſt, after what manner, by God's commandment, according to the Scripture, and unſpotted religion, ex-*

communication

communication is to be exerciſed? Secondly, whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way, than by the Conſiſtory? Thirdly, what the uſe of their Churches was to do in this caſe? Anſwer was returned from the ſaid Churches, *That they had heard already of thoſe conſiſtorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances, drawing towards the preſcript of the word of God; for which cauſe they did not think it good for the Church of Geneva, by innovation, to change the ſame, but rather to keep them as they were.* Which anſwer, although not anſwering unto the former demands, but reſpecting what Mr. Calvin had judged requiſite for them to anſwer, was notwithſtanding accepted without any further reply; in as much as they plainly ſaw, that when ſtomach doth ſtrive with wit, the match is not equal; and ſo the heat of their former contentions began to ſlake. The preſent inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultineſs of their people heretofore is ſo far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and paſtors have thought neceſſary to diſcover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is, that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it may appear in what ſort amongſt them that Diſcipline was planted, for which ſo much contention is raiſed amongſt ourſelves. The reaſons which moved Calvin herein to be ſo earneſt, was, as Beza himſelf teſtifieth, **For that he ſaw how needful theſe bridles were to be put in the jaws of that city.* That which by wiſdom he ſaw to be requiſite for that people, was by as great wiſdom compaſſed. But wiſe men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for eſtabliſhment of his Diſcipline, ſeemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenancing of it eſtabliſhed. Nature worketh in us all a love to our own counſels: the contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love ſet on Epiſt. 166.

* *Quod eam urbem videret omnino his frænis indigere.*

fire

fire to maintain that which once we have done, ſharpeneth the wit to diſpute, to argue, and by all means to reaſon for it. Wherefore a marvel it were, if a man of ſo great capacity, having ſuch incitements to make him deſirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cauſe, could eſpy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the leaſt a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itſelf was the ſame way ſomewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by ſifting the very utmoſt ſentence and ſyllable, is no more than that certain ſpeeches there are, which to him did ſeem to intimate, that all Chriſtian Churches ought to have their Elderſhips endued with power of excommunications; and that a part of thoſe Elderſhips every where ſhould be choſen out from amongſt the laity, after that form which himſelf had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to ſhew, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one ſentence of Scripture doth neceſſarily enforce theſe things, or the reſt wherein your opinion concurreth with his againſt the orders of your own Church? We ſhould be injurious unto virtue itſelf, if we did derogate from them whom their induſtry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deſervedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in compoſing the Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion; the other, his no leſs induſtrious travels for expoſition of holy Scripture, according unto the ſame Inſtitutions. In which two things, whoſoever they were that after him beſtowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice againſt them, if they gainſayed; and of glory above them, if they conſented. His writings, publiſhed after the queſtion about that Diſcipline was once begun, omit not any the leaſt occaſion of extolling the use and ſingular neceſſity thereof. Of what account the Maſter of Sentences was in the Church

Church of Rome, the ſame and more amongſt the preachers of reformed Churches, Calvin had purchaſed; ſo that the perfecteſt divines were judged they, which were ſkilfulleſt in Calvin's writings; his books almoſt the very canon to judge both doctrine and diſcipline by. French Churches, both under others abroad, and at home in their own country, all caſt according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland, in erecting the fabric of their reformation, took the ſelf-ſame pattern; till at length the Diſcipline, which was at the firſt ſo weak, that without the ſtaff of their approbation, who were not ſubject unto it themſelves, it had not brought others under ſubjection, began now to challenge univerſal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with thoſe very Churches, which in deſperate extremity had been relievers of it. To one of thoſe Churches which lived in moſt peaceable ſort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other profeſſions ſingular, as alſo with divines, whoſe equals were not elſewhere to be found; a Church ordered by Gualter's diſcipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth; unto this Church of Heidelburgh, there cometh one who, craving leave to diſpute publickly, defendeth with open diſdain of their government, that *to a miniſter, with his elderſhip, power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomſoever; yea, even kings and princes themſelves.* Here were the ſeeds ſown of that controverſy which ſprang up between Beza and Eraſtus, about the matter of Excommunication; whether there ought to be in all Churches an Elderſhip having power to excommunicate, and a part of that Elderſhip to be of neceſſity certain, choſen out from amongſt the laity for that purpoſe. In which diſputation they have, as to me it ſeemeth, divided very equally the truth between them: Beza moſt truly maintaining the neceſſity of excommunication; Eraſtus as truly the non-neceſſity of lay-elders to be miniſters

miniſters thereof. Amongſt ourſelves, there was in King Edward's days ſome queſtion moved, by reaſon of a few men's ſcrupuloſity, touching certain things. And beyond ſeas, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary; ſome contenting themſelves abroad, with the uſe of their own Service-book, at home authoriſed before their departure out of their realm; others liking better the common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva tranſlated: thoſe ſmaller contentions before begun, were by this means ſomewhat increaſed. Under the happy reign of her Majeſty, which now is, the greateſt matter awhile contended for was the wearing the cap and ſurplice, till there came admonitions directed unto the high Court of Parliament, by men who, concealing their names, thought it glory enough to diſcover their minds and affections, which now were univerſally bent even againſt all the orders and laws, wherein this Church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva. Concerning the defender of which admonitions, all that I mean to ſay is but this: there will come a time, when three words uttered with charity and meekneſs ſhall receive a far more bleſſed reward, than three thouſand volumes written with diſdainful ſharpneſs of wit. But the manner of men's writings muſt not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the ſame defender do think he hath; and in that perſuaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe than himſelf doth Calvin, Beza, and others; with the like perſuaſion that they in this cauſe had the truth. We being as fully perſuaded otherwiſe, it reſteth, that ſome kind of trial be uſed to find out which part is in error.

By what means ſo many of the people are trained unto the liking of that Diſcipline.

3. The firſt mean whereby Nature teacheth man to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own diſcretion. Hereunto therefore St. Paul referreth oftentimes his own ſpeech, to be conſidered of by them that heard him. *I ſpeak as to them which have underſtanding, judge ye what*

1 Cor. x. 15.

what I ſay. Again afterward, *Judge in yourſelves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered?* The exerciſe of this kind of judgment, our Saviour requireth in the Jews. In them of Berœa the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, whatſoever we do, if our own ſecret judgment conſent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is ſin, although the thing itſelf be allowable. St. Paul's rule therefore generally is, *Let every man in his own mind be fully perſuaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth.* Some things are ſo faimliar and plain, that truth from falſehood, and good from evil, is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the moſt part, are things abſolutely unto all men's ſalvation neceſſary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cauſe St. Auguſtine acknowledgeth, that they are not only ſet down, but alſo plainly ſet down in Scripture; ſo that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty underſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Chriſtian men: which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudy of things divine, to the end that in theſe more doubtful caſes, their underſtanding might be a light to direct others. *If the underſtanding power or faculty of the ſoul be* (ſaith the grand Phyſician*) *like unto bodily ſight, not of equal ſharpneſs in all; what can be more convenient than that, even as the dark-ſighted man is directed by the clear about things viſible; ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe, the wiſe in heart doth ſhew the ſimple where his way lieth?* In our doubtful caſes of law, what man is there, who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that profeſſors of ſkill in that faculty be our directors? ſo it is in all other kinds of know-

1 Cor. xi. 13.

Luke xii. 56, 57. Acts xvii. 11.

Rom. xiv. 5.

* Galen. de opt. docen. gen.

ledge.

ledge. And even in this kind likewiſe, the Lord
Mal. ii. 7. hath himſelf appointed, *that the prieſt's lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, and that other men ſhould ſeek the truth at his mouth, becauſe he is the meſſenger of the Lord of hoſts.* Gregory Nazianzen, offended at the people's too great preſumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould have rather ſubmitted their own, ſeeketh by earneſt entreaty to ſtay them within their bounds. *Preſume not ye that are ſheep, to make yourſelves guides of them that ſhould guide you; neither ſeek ye to overſlip the fold which they about you have pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame yourſelves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge yourſelves, nor to make them ſubject to your laws, who ſhould be a law to you; for God is not a God of ſedition and confuſion, but of order*
Matth. xv. 14. *and of peace**. But ye will ſay, that if the guides of the people be blind, the common ſort of men muſt not cloſe up their own eyes, and be led by the con-
Mal. ii. 9. duct of ſuch: if the prieſt be partial in the law, the flock muſt not therefore depart from the ways of ſincere truth, and in ſimplicity yield to be followers of him for his place ſake and office over them. Which thing, though in itſelf moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weak; becauſe the matter wherein ye think that ye ſee and imagine that your ways are ſincere, is of far deeper conſideration than any one amongſt five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar ſort among you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the cauſe, wherein they are ſo reſolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertaineth, than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cauſe wherein they think themſelves thoroughly inſtructed, and are not; by means whereof they daily run themſelves, without feeling their

* Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

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own hazard, upon the dint of the Apoſtles' ſentence againſt evil-ſpeakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt ſtate of [a] Civil Policy, (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kind, than that under which they already live, for of ſuch diſputes, I take it, his meaning was ;) if it be a thing confeſſed, that of ſuch queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſs, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpecial circumſtances, and for one kind as many reaſons may be brought as for another ; is there any reaſon in the world, why they ſhould better judge what kind of regiment Eccleſiaſtical is the fitteſt ? For in the Civil ſtate more inſight, and in thoſe affairs more experience, a great deal, muſt needs be granted them, than in this they can poſſibly have. When they which write in defence of your Diſcipline, and commend it unto the higheſt, not in the leaſt cunning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge, *that with whom the truth is, they know not*, they are not certain ; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof? Weigh what doth move the common ſort ſo much to favour this inſiovation, and it ſhall ſoon appear unto you, that the force of particular reaſons, which for your ſeveral opinions are alleged, is a thing whereof the multitude never did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly carried ; but certain general inducements are uſed to make ſaleable your cauſe in groſs : and when once men have caſt a fancy towards it, any ſlight declaration of ſpecialities will ſerve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds. The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of the cauſe (for ſo ye term it) hath been this. Firſt, In the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially

Jude ver. 10. 2 Pet. ii. 12.

The Author of the Petition directed to her Majeſty, p. 3.

[a] Calvin. Inſtit. lib. iv. cap. 20. §. 8.

of higher callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding ſeverity and ſharpneſs of reproof; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holineſs, to ſuch conſtant reprovers of ſin, as by likelihood would never be ſo much offended at that which is evil, unleſs themſelves were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world aboundeth, unto the kind of Eccleſiaſtical government eſtabliſhed. Wherein, as before by reproving faults, they purchaſed unto themſelves, with the multitude, a name to be virtuous; ſo by finding out this kind of cauſe, they obtain to be judged wiſe above others; whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewiſh government, which the Lord himſelf (they all confeſs) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of reaſon they might impute thoſe faults which the Prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth; as to the Engliſh kind of regiment Eccleſiaſtical, (whereof alſo God himſelf, though in another ſort, is author,) the ſtains and blemiſhes found in our ſtate; which ſpringing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or leſs, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end, complained of, what form of government ſoever take place. Having gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their own form of Church-government, as the only ſovereign remedy of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have ſick bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the crazedneſs of their minds, poſſeſſed with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine, that any thing (the virtue whereof they hear commended) would help them; but that moſt, which they leaſt have tried. The fourth degree of inducements, is by faſhioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in ſuch ſort, that

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when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing ſoundeth towards the advancement of that Diſcipline, and to the utter diſgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his ſcholars in ſpeculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld, as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave eſſence and being to the works of nature. A thing in reaſon impoſſible, which notwithſtanding, through their pre-conceit, appeared unto them no leſs certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God. When they of the Family of Love have it once in their heads, that Chriſt doth not ſignify any one perſon, but a quality whereof many are partakers; that to be raiſed, is nothing elſe but to be regenerated, or endued with the ſaid quality; and that when ſeparation of them which have it, from them which have it not, is here made, this is judgment: how plainly do they imagine, that the Scripture every where ſpeaketh in the favour of that ſect? And aſſuredly, the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to think they even ſee how the Word of God runneth currently on your ſide, is, that their minds are foreſtalled, and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an Elder doth ſignify a Layman, admitted only to the office or rule of government in the Church; a Doctor, one which may only teach, and neither preach nor adminiſter the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath the charge of the alms-box, and of nothing elſe: that the Sceptre, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdom of Chriſt, are a form of regiment, only by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors, and Deacons; that by myſtical reſemblance, Mount Sion and Jeruſalem are the Churches which admit; Samaria and Babylon, the Churches which oppugn the ſaid form of regiment. And in like ſort, they

are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the City and Temple of God, by Eſdras, Nehemias, and the reſt; as if purpoſely the Holy Ghoſt had therein meant to foreſignify, what the authors of admonitions to the Parliament, of ſupplications to the Council, of petitions to her Majeſty, and of ſuch other-like writs, ſhould either do or ſuffer in behalf of this their cauſe. From hence they proceed to a higher point, which is the perſuading of men credulous and overcapable of ſuch pleaſing errors, that it is the ſpecial illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcern thoſe things in the Word, which others reading, yet diſcern them not. *Dearly beloved*, ſaith St. John, *give not credit unto every ſpirit.* There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto ſome few, the other extending itſelf unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a ſpecial divine excellency, Revelation; the other, Reaſon. If the Spirit by ſuch Revelation have diſcovered unto them the ſecrets of that Diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſs themſelves to be all (even men, women, and children) prophets: or if reaſon be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; foraſmuch as perſuaſions grounded upon reaſon are either weaker or ſtronger, according to the force of thoſe reaſons, whereupon the ſame are grounded, they muſt every of them, from the greateſt to the leaſt, be able for every ſeveral article to ſhew ſome ſpecial reaſon, as ſtrong as their perſuaſion therein is earneſt: otherwiſe how can it be, but that ſome other ſinews there are, from which that overplus of ſtrength in perſuaſion doth ariſe? Moſt ſure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earneſt a great deal, than (for the moſt part) found believers in the maintenance of truth, apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yieldeth:

1 Johniv. 1.

eth: which being in ſome things plain, as in the principles of Chriſtian Doctrine; in ſome things, as in theſe matters of Diſcipline, more dark and doubtful, frameth correſpondently that inward aſſent, which God's moſt gracious Spirit worketh by it, as by his effectual inſtrument. It is not therefore the fervent earneſtneſs of their perſuaſion, but the ſoundneſs of thoſe reaſons, whereupon the ſame is built, which muſt declare their opinions in theſe things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, and not by the fraud of that evil ſpirit, which is even in his illuſions ſtrong. After that the fancy of the common ſort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be the author of their perſuaſions concerning Diſcipline; then is inſtilled into their hearts, that the ſame Spirit, leading men into this opinion, doth thereby ſeal them to be God's children; and that, as the ſtate of the times now ſtandeth, the moſt ſpecial token to know them that are God's own from others, is an earneſt affection that way. This hath bred high terms of ſeparation between ſuch, and the reſt of the world; whereby the one ſort are named the Brethren, the Godly, and ſo forth; the other worldlings, time-ſervers, pleaſers of men, not of God, with ſuch like. From hence they are eaſily drawn on to think it exceeding neceſſary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to uſe all means whereby the ſame may be both ſtrengthened in themſelves, and made manifeſt unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of ſuch as are known that way to incline: this maketh them eager to take and ſeek all occaſions of ſecret conference with ſuch: this maketh them glad to uſe ſuch as counſellors and directors in all their dealings, which are of weight, as contracts, teſtaments, and the like: this maketh them, through an unweariable deſire of receiving inſtruction from the maſters of that company, to caſt off the care of thoſe very affairs which do moſt concern their eſtate, and to think that they are like unto

2 Theſſ. ii. 11.

Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themſelves, for ſuch men's ſuſtenance and relief, leſt their zeal to the cauſe ſhould any way be unwitneſſed. For what is it which poor beguiled ſouls will not do through ſo powerful incitements? In which reſpect it is alſo noted, that moſt labour hath been beſtowed to win and retain towards this cauſe them whoſe judgments are commonly weakeſt
2 Tim. iii. 6. by reaſon of their ſex. And although not *women laden with ſins*, as the Apoſtle St. Paul ſpeaketh, but (as we verily eſteem of them for the moſt part) women propenſe and inclinable to holineſs, be otherwiſe edified in other good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of ſin and evil, by ſuch as enter into their houſes with purpoſe to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of Diſcipline; yet ſome occaſion is hereby miniſtered for men to think, that if the cauſe which is thus furthered, did gain by the ſoundneſs of proof, whereupon it doth build itſelf, it would not moſt buſily endeavour to prevail, where leaſt ability of judgment is: and therefore that this ſo eminent induſtry in making proſelytes more of that ſex than of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to ſerve as inſtruments and helps in the cauſe. Apter they are through the eagerneſs of their affection, that maketh them, which way ſoever they take, diligent in drawing their huſbands, children, ſervants, friends, and allies, the ſame way: apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readineſs than in men, to be bountiful towards their preachers, who ſuffer want: apter through ſundry opportunities, which they eſpecially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren: finally, apter through a ſingular delight which they take, in giving very large and particular intelligence how all near about them ſtand affected, as concern-

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ing the ſame cauſe. But be they women, or be they men, if once they have taſted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to perſuade them, they cloſe up their ears, his reaſons they weigh not, all is anſwered with rehearſal of the words of John, "*We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth* 1 John iv. 6. "*us*: as for the reſt, ye are of the world; for this "world's pomp and vanity it is that ye ſpeak, and the "world, whoſe ye are, heareth you." Which cloak ſitteth no leſs fit on the back of their cauſe, than of the Anabaptiſts; when the dignity, authority, and honour of God's Magiſtrates is upheld againſt them. Shew theſe eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of ſuch matters, their anſwer is, *God hath* 1 Cor. i. 27. *choſen the ſimple.* Convince them of folly, and that ſo plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers of like defence: [a] *Chriſt's own Apoſtle was accounted mad: the beſt men evermore by the ſentence of the world, have been judged to be out of their right minds.* When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feel but the leaſt degree of moſt mercifully tempered ſeverity, they faſten on the head of the Lord's vicegerents here on earth, whatſoever they any where find uttered againſt the cruelty of blood-thirſty men; and to themſelves they draw all the ſentences which Scripture hath in the favour of innocency perſecuted for the truth; yea, they are of their due and deſerved ſufferings, no leſs proud than thoſe ancient diſturbers to whom St. Auguſtine writeth, ſaying, *Martyrs, rightly* Aug. Epiſt. *ſo named, are they not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and* 50. *for the ungodly breach they have made of Chriſtian unity; but which for righteouſneſs ſake are perſecuted. For Agar alſo ſuffered perſecution at the hands of Sarah;*

[a] Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. *We fools thought his life madneſs.* Men. Triſ. ad Æſculap. Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες ἅτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, ἅτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς· μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide Lactant. de Juſtit. lib. v. cap. 16.

wherein, ſhe which did impoſe was holy, and ſhe unrighteous which did bear the burthen. In like ſort, with the thieves was the Lord himſelf crucified; but they who were matched in the pain which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings disjoined. If that muſt needs be the true Church which doth endure perſecution, and not that which perſecuteth, let them aſk of the Apoſtle, what Church Sarah did repreſent, when ſhe held her maid in affliction. For even our Mother which is free, the heavenly Jeruſalem, that is to ſay, the true Church of God, was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very woman, by whom the bond-maid was ſo ſharply handled. Although, if all things be thoroughly ſcanned, ſhe did in truth more perſecute Sarah by proud reſiſtance, than Sarah her, by ſeverity of puniſhment. Theſe are the paths wherein ye have walked, that are of the ordinary ſort of men; theſe are the very ſteps ye have trodden, and the manifeſt degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that ſchool: a cuſtom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults, eſpecially in your governors; and uſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of ſpiritual regiment, under which ye live; boldneſs in warranting the force of their Diſcipline, for the cure of all ſuch evils; a ſlight of framing your conceits to imagine, that Scripture every where favoureth that Diſcipline; perſuaſion that the cauſe why ye find it in Scripture, is the illumination of the Spirit; that the ſame Spirit is a ſeal unto you of your nearneſs unto God; that ye are by all means to nouriſh and witneſs it in yourſelves, and to ſtrengthen on every ſide your minds againſt whatſoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

What hath cauſed ſo many of the learneder ſort to approve the ſame Diſcipline.

4. Wherefore to come unto you, whoſe judgment is a lantern of direction for all the reſt; you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſuade myſelf) of a politic intent or purpoſe, but yourſelves being firſt overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments; on your ſhoulders

is laid the burthen of upholding the cauſe by argument. For which purpoſe, ſentences out of the Word of God ye allege divers; but ſo, that when the ſame are diſcuſſed, thus it always in a manner falleth out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether neceſſary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous ſlight conjectures. I need not give inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alleged, for that I think the inſtance in any alleged otherwiſe a thing not eaſy to be given. A very ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as ye ſpeak of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this preſent time. Contrariwiſe, the government againſt which ye bend yourſelves be obſerved every where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian world, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God to be againſt it. We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to ſay, by Epiſcopal regiment, ſithence the time that the bleſſed Apoſtles were here converſant. Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerved the ſelf-ſame orders which you require; and as though your deſire were that the Churches of old ſhould be patterns for us to follow, and even glaſſes wherein we might ſee the practice of that, which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing leſs. All this is done for faſhion-ſake only; for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men ſhould be willed to ſeek for examples and patterns of government in any of thoſe times that have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apoſtles' times till this preſent age, wherein yourſelves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of ſound Diſcipline, there never was any time ſafe to be followed; which thing ye thus endeavour

T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

endeavour to prove. Out of Egeſippus, ye ſay, that Euſebius writeth, how although as long as the Apoſtles lived, the Church did remain a pure virgin; yet after the death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone, whom God vouchſafed to make hearers of the divine wiſdom with their own ears, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. [a] Clement alſo in a certain place, to confirm, that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles' times, allegeth the proverb, *That there are few ſons like their fathers.* Socrates ſaith of the Church of Rome and Alexandria, the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles' times, that about the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian Biſhops, leaving the ſacred function, were degenerate to a ſecular rule or dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our government from any other than the Apoſtles' times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles' times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift and purpoſe of you all is not one. The chiefeſt thing which lay-reformers yawn for is, that the Clergy may, through conformity in ſtate and condition, be Apoſtolical, poor as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poor. In which one circumſtance, if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt think that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of Mendicant Friars, a Church in that reſpect moſt happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his Church, indeed, that the Clergy ſhould be left even as bare as the Apoſtles, when they had neither ſtaff nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay upon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would, I hope, endue them with the ſelf-ſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his own virtuous contentment of heart, *As well how to want, as how to abound*, are a moſt fit Epiſcopal empreſe.

Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 32.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. vii. cap. 11.

Phil. iv. 12.

[a] Lib. Strom. Somewhat after the beginning.

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The Church of Chriſt is a body myſtical. A body cannot ſtand, unleſs the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergy, to be in meanneſs of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laity, to be as they who lived under the Apoſtles. And in this reformation there will be, though little wiſdom, yet ſome indifferency. But your reformation, which are of the Clergy, (if yet it diſpleaſe you not that I ſhould ſay ye are of the Clergy,) ſeemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think, that he which will perfectly reform, muſt bring the form of Church-diſcipline unto the ſtate which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certain, nor abſolutely convenient. Concerning the firſt, which was uſed in the Apoſtles' times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the rule and canon of Church-polity, ye make a rule, which being not poſſible to be fully known, is as impoſſible to be kept. Again, ſith the latter, even of the Apoſtles' own times, had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general propoſing of the Apoſtles' times, there is no certainty which ſhould be followed, eſpecially ſeeing that ye give us great cauſe to doubt how far ye allow thoſe times. For albeit the loover of Antichriſtian building were not, ye ſay, as then ſet up, yet the foundations thereof were ſecretly, and under the ground, laid in the Apoſtles' times: ſo that all other times ye plainly reject; and the Apoſtles' times ye approve with marvellous great ſuſpicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourſelves unto the pattern of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to conſider only what hath been of old, and if the ſame were well, to ſee whether ſtill it continue; if not to condemn that preſently which is, and never to ſearch upon what ground or conſideration the change might grow: ſuch rudeneſs cannot be in you ſo well borne with, whom learning and judgment

judgment hath enabled much more ſoundly to diſcern how far the times of the Church, and the orders thereof, may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter [a], the better ceremonies of Religion are: howbeit, not abſolutely true, and without exception; but true only ſo far forth as thoſe different ages do agree in the ſtate of thoſe things, for which, at the firſt, thoſe rites, orders, and ceremonies were inſtituted. In the Apoſtles' times that was harmleſs, which being now revived, would be ſcandalous; as their [b] *Oſcula ſancta.* Thoſe [c] Feaſts of Charity, which, being inſtituted by the Apoſtles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man is there of underſtanding, unto whom it is not manifeſt, how the way of providing for the Clergy by Tythes, the device of Almshouſes for the poor, the ſorting out of the people into their ſeveral pariſhes; together with ſundry other things which the Apoſtles' times could not have, (being now eſtabliſhed,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Chriſt, than if the ſame ſhould be taken away for conformity's ſake with the ancienteſt and firſt times? The orders therefore which were obſerved in the Apoſtles' times are not to be urged as a rule univerſally, either ſuf-

[a] Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum ſanctitatis tribuere conſuevit, quantum adſtruxerit vetuſtatis. Arn. p. 746.

[b] Rom. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Theſſ. v. 26. 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to ſerve God, their manner was, in the end to ſalute one another with a kiſs; uſing theſe words, *Peace be with you.* For which cauſe, Tertullian doth call it, *Signaculum Orationis,* The ſeal of Prayer. Lib. de Orat.

[c] Epiſt. Jud. 12. Concerning which Feaſts, St. Chryſoſtom ſaith, *Statis diebus menſas faciebant communes, et peracta ſynaxi poſt Sacramentorum Communionem ineibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis.* In 1 Cor. xi. Hom. xxvii. Of the ſame Feaſts, in the like ſort, Tertullian. *Cœna noſtra de nomine rationem ſui oſtendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod eſt penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiſcunque ſumptibus conſtet, lucrum eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumptum.* Apol. cap. 39.

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ficient or neceſſary. If they be nevertheleſs on your part, it ſtill remaineth to be better proved, that the form of Diſcipline, which ye entitle Apoſtolical, was in the Apoſtles' time exerciſed. For of this very thing ye fail, even touching that which ye make moſt account of, as being matter of ſubſtance in diſcipline, I mean, the power of your Lay-elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſum, we may be bold to conclude, that beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worſt; there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your Diſcipline, or the ſubſtance thereof, was practiſed. The evidence therefore of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of ſuch learned men, as ſeem by their writings to be of opinion, that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receive your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men, not unworthy to be had in honour; ſo there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it ſerve ye to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale and not by weight; yet ſurely, they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with us notwithſtanding neither are they, neither ought they to be of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture ſhould cauſe the Laws of the Church of England to give place; much leſs, when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part, through a courteous inducement, have followed one man as their guide; finally, that one therein not unlikely to have ſwerved. If any one chance to ſay, it is probable that in the Apoſtles' times there were Lay-elders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirm, that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Preſbyters;

ters; or to ſpeak any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopal regiment; or to reprove the fault of ſuch as abuſe that calling; all theſe ye regiſter for men, perſuaded as you are, that every Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the Law of God to put down Biſhops, and in their rooms to erect an Elderſhip ſo authorized as you would have it for the government of each pariſh. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whoſe names are cited amongſt the favourers of this cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome material points of your Diſcipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Divines of reformed Churches abroad. For firſt, to do as the Church of Geneva did, the learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who having uſed in like manner, not the ſlow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration; in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well how they could have ſtayed to deliberate about any other regiment, than that which already was deviſed to their hands; that which in like caſe had been taken, that which was eaſieſt to be eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the people, by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of conſtraint or neceſſity followed by many, their concurrence in perſuaſion about ſome material points belonging to the ſame polity is not ſtrange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the ſame thing, do eaſily embrace the ſame opinion as concerning their own doings. Beſides, mark, I beſeech you, that which Galen [a] in matter of philoſophy noteth; for the like falleth out, even in queſtions of higher knowledge.

[a] Galen. Claſ. 2. lib. de cujuſque anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.

It fareth many times with men's opinions, as with rumours and reports. That which a credible perſon telleth, is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſuaded of him: but if two, or three, or four, agree all in the ſame tale, they judge it then to be out of controverſy, and ſo are many times overtaken for want of due conſideration; either ſome common cauſe leading them all into error, or one man's overſight deceiving many through their too much credulity and eaſineſs of belief. Though ten perſons be brought to give teſtimony in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appear to have grown from ſome one amongſt them, and to have ſpread itſelf from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimony. Nor is it otherwiſe here, where the daughter Churches do ſpeak their mother's dialect; here, where ſo many ſing one ſong, by reaſon that he is the guide of the quire, concerning whoſe deſerved authority, amongſt even the graveſt divines, we have already ſpoken at large. Will ye aſk what ſhould move thoſe many learned to be followers of one man's judgment; no neceſſity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is anſwered by yourſelves. Loth ye are to think that they whom ye judge to have attained as ſound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any ſince the Apoſtles' time, ſhould miſtake in Diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them we are not perſuaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſs. The reaſon whereof is, *For that as dead flies putrify the ointment of the apothecary, ſo a little folly him that is in eſtimation for wiſdom.* This in every profeſſion hath too much authorized the judgment of a few. This with Germans hath cauſed Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wiſdom of that God (who ſetteth before us in holy Scripture ſo many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them

Petition to the Q. M. pag. 14.

Eccleſ. x. 1.

them without ſomewhat noted, wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to him alone it might always be acknowledged, *Thou only art holy, thou only art juſt*) might not permit thoſe worthy veſſels of his glory to be in ſome things blemiſhed with the ſtain of human frailty, even for this cauſe, leſt we ſhould eſteem of any man above that which behoveth.

Their calling by trial by diſputation.

5. Notwithſtanding, as though ye were able to ſay a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earneſt challengers ye are of trial by ſome public diſputation; wherein, if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to diſpute openly about thoſe matters that are in queſtion, the ſchools in Univerſities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly Acts and Commencements, beſides other Diſputations, both ordinary and upon occaſion, wherein the ſeveral parts of our Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination. The learnedeſt of you have been of late years noted ſeldom or never abſent from thence at the time of thoſe great aſſemblies; and the favour of propoſing there in convenient ſort whatſoever ye can object (which thing, myſelf have known them to grant of ſcholaſtical courteſy unto ſtrangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I preſume) be denied unto you. If your ſuit be to have ſome great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are ſhould ſleep and have no power over you; till in the hearing of thouſands ye all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further proſecution of your cauſe; haply, they whoſe authority is required unto the ſatisfying of your demand, do think it both dangerous to admit ſuch concourſe of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once ſolemnly eſtabliſhed, are to exact obedience of all men, and to conſtrain thereunto, ſhould ſo far ſtoop as to hold themſelves in ſuſpenſe from taking any effect upon

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you till ſome diſputer can perſuade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourſelves to be any part, then is the Law even your deed alſo. And were it reaſon, in things of this quality, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved, may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end alſo diſputed againſt, by the authors thereof themſelves: but this is when the whole doth deliberate what laws each part ſhall obſerve, and not when a part refuſeth the laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as the cauſe we maintain is (God be thanked) ſuch as needeth not to ſhun any trial, might it pleaſe them on whoſe approbation the matter dependeth, to condeſcend ſo far unto you in this behalf, I wiſh heartily that proof were made even by ſolemn conference in orderly and quiet ſort, whether you would yourſelves be ſatisfied, or elſe could by ſatisfying others draw them to your party. Provided alway, firſt, in as much as ye go about to deſtroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impoſe on us that which we think not ourſelves bound unto, to overthrow thoſe things whereof we are poſſeſſed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any conference other than the plaintiff's or opponent's part, which muſt conſiſt altogether in proof and confirmation of two things; the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to aboliſh; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, becauſe the queſtions in controverſy between us are many, if once we deſcend unto particulars; that for the eaſier and more orderly proceeding therein, the moſt general be firſt diſcuſſed, nor any queſtion left off, nor in each queſtion the proſecution of any one argument given over, and another taken

in hand, till the iſſue whereunto, by replies and anſwers, both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged, as well on the one ſide as on the other, to be the plain concluſion which they are grown unto. Thirdly, for avoiding the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal diſputes are ſubject; as alſo becauſe, if ye ſhould ſingly diſpute one by one, as every man's own wit did beſt ſerve, it might be conceived by the reſt, that haply ſome other would have done more; the chiefeſt of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye ſhall then chooſe for your ſpeaker, by him that which is publickly brought into diſputation, be acknowledged by all your conſents, not to be his allegation, but yours; ſuch as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that reaſonable time be allowed for return of anſwer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other cauſes with the leſs effectual ſucceſs, by reaſon of partial and untrue reports, publiſhed afterwards unto the world; that, to prevent this evil, there be at the firſt a ſolemn declaration made on both parts of their agreement, to have that very book, and no other, ſet abroad wherein their preſent authorized notaries do write thoſe things fully and only; which being written, and there read, are by their own open teſtimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumſtances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needleſs ſpeech, or to any end and purpoſe elſe, they may be thought on when occaſion ſerveth. In this ſort, to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I ſhould be loth, (albeit, I do it not otherwiſe than under correction of them, whoſe gravity and wiſdom ought in ſuch caſes to overrule,) but that ſo venturous boldneſs, I ſee, is a thing

a thing now general, and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licenſed to offend, no man will ſhew himſelf a ſharp accuſer.

6. What ſucceſs God may give unto any ſuch kind of conference or diſputation, we cannot tell: but of this we are right ſure, that nature, Scripture, and experience itſelf, have all taught the world to ſeek for the ending of contentions, by ſubmitting itſelf unto ſome judicial and definitive ſentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuſe to ſtand. This müſt needs be effectual and ſtrong; as for other means without this, they ſeldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of theſe irkſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your followers do ſtand thus formally divided againſt the authorized guides of this Church, and the reſt of the people ſubject unto their charge; whether, I ſay, ye be content to refer your cauſe to any other higher judgment than your own, or elſe intend to perſiſt, and proceed as ye have begun, till yourſelves can be perſuaded to condemn yourſelves? If your determination be this, we can be but ſorry that ye ſhould deſerve to be reckoned with ſuch, of whom God himſelf pronounceth, *The way of peace they have not known.* Ways of peaceable concluſion there are but theſe two certain, the one a ſentence of judicial deciſion given by authority thereto appointed within ourſelves; the other, the like kind of ſentence given by a more univerſal authority. The former of which two ways God himſelf in the Law preſcribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very firſt Chriſtian Churches in the world to uſe the latter. The ordinance of God in the Law was this. *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea,* &c. *then ſhalt thou ariſe, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chooſe; and thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts of the Levites, and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days, and aſk, and they ſhall ſhew thee*

No end of contention, without ſubmiſſion of both parts unto ſome definitive ſentence.

Rom. iii. 17.

Deut. xvii. 8.

the ſentence of judgment; and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath choſen, ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee: according to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they ſhall tell thee, ſhalt thou do; thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkening unto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or unto the Judge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take away evil from Iſrael. When there grew in
Act. xv. the Church of Chriſt a queſtion, Whether the Gentiles believing might be ſaved, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, nor did obſerve the reſt of thoſe legal Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound; after great diſſenſion and diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to have it determined by ſentence at Jeruſalem, which was accordingly done in a Council there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are ye able to allege any juſt and ſufficient cauſe wherefore abſolutely ye ſhould not condeſcend in this controverſy to have your judgments over-ruled by ſome ſuch definitive ſentence; whether it fall out to be given with or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Ye will perhaps make anſwer, that being perſuaded already, as touching the truth of your cauſe, ye are not to hearken unto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtle's own example teacheth. Again, that men, yea Councils, may err; and that unleſs the judgment given do ſatisfy your minds, unleſs it be ſuch as ye can by no further argument oppugn; in a word, unleſs you perceive and acknowledge it yourſelves conſonant with God's Word, to ſtand unto it, not allowing it, were to ſin againſt your own conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt as touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and

peremptory,

peremptory, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made manifeſt unto him, even by intuitive revelation, wherein there was no poſſibility of error: that which you are perſuaded of, ye have it no otherwiſe than by your own only probable collection; and therefore ſuch bold aſſeverations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouths argue raſhneſs. God was not ignorant, that the Prieſts and Judges, whoſe ſentence in matters of controverſy he ordained ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his underſtanding, that ſometime an erroneous ſentence definitive ſhould prevail, till the ſame authority, perceiving ſuch overſight, might afterwards correct or reverſe it, than that ſtrifes ſhould have reſpite to grow, and not come ſpeedily unto ſome end. Neither wiſh we, that men ſhould do any thing which in their hearts they are perſuaded they ought not to do; but this perſuaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſettled in their hearts, that in litigious and controverſed cauſes of ſuch quality, the will of God is to have them to do whatſoever the ſentence of judicial and final deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeem in their private opinion to ſwerve utterly from that which is right; as, no doubt, many times the ſentence amongſt the Jews did ſeem unto one part or other contending: and yet in this caſe, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it ſeemed (yea, and perhaps truly ſeemed) that the Law did diſallow. For if God be not the author of confuſion but of peace, then can he not be the author of our refuſal, but of our contentment to ſtand unto ſome definitive ſentence; without which, almoſt impoſſible it is, that either we ſhould avoid confuſion, or ever hope to attain peace. To ſmall purpoſe had the Council of Jeruſalem been aſſembled, if once their determination being ſet down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive ſentence, all contro-

verſy was at an end. Things were diſputed before they came to be determined. Men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The ſentence of judgment finiſhed their ſtrife, which their diſputes before judgment could not do. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable man's conſcience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatſoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulneſs and ſelf-liking is our nature, that without ſome definitive ſentence, which being given, may ſtand, and a neceſſity of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed; ſmall hope there is, that ſtrifes thus far proſecuted will in ſhort time quietly end. Now it were in vain to aſk you, whether you would be content that the ſentence of any court already erected ſhould be ſo far authorized, as that among the Jews eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, for the determining of all controverſies. *That man which will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkening unto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor unto the Judge, let him die.* Ye have given us already to underſtand what your opinion is in part, concerning her ſacred Majeſty's Court of High Commiſſion; the nature whereof is the ſame with that among the Jews, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way happily may like you better, becauſe Maſter Beza[a] in his laſt book, ſave one, written about theſe matters, profeſſeth himſelf to be now weary of ſuch combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inaſmuch as he findeth that controverſies thereby are made but brawls; and therefore wiſheth, that in ſome common lawful Aſſembly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once be decided. Shall there be then in the mean while no doings? Yes. There are the weightier matters of the Law, *judgment, and mercy, and fidelity.* Theſe things we ought to do; and theſe things, while we contend about leſs, we leave undone.

Matt. xxiii. 23.

[a] Præf. Tract. de Excom. Preſbyt.

Happier

Happier are they, whom the Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find doing in theſe things, than diſputing about Doctors, Elders, and Deacons. Or if there be no remedy, but ſomewhat needs ye muſt do, which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline, do that which wiſe men, who think ſome Statute of the Realm more fit to be repealed than to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to do, before they come to Parliament, where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in re-examining more duly your cauſe, and in more thoroughly conſidering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are eſtabliſhed, ſith Equity and Reaſon, the Law of Nature, God and Man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of deciſion be given againſt it, it is but juſtice to exact of you, and perverſeneſs in you it ſhould be to deny thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to obſerve thoſe Laws, which in their hearts they are ſtedfaſtly perſuaded to be againſt the Law of God; but your perſuaſion in this caſe, ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend; and in otherwiſe doing, ye offend againſt God by troubling his Church without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to think hardly of our Laws; are thoſe reaſons demonſtrative, are they neceſſary, or but mere probabilities only? An argument neceſſary and demonſtrative is ſuch, as being propoſed unto any man, and underſtood, the mind cannot chooſe but inwardly aſſent. Any one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth, I grant, the conſcience, and ſetteth it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of the whole Church, unto thoſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable that they are good; and therefore unto a neceſſary proof, that they are not good, it muſt give place. But if the ſkilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one

argument of this nature, let the inſtance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever ſet down ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meet, that when public things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe this or that private perſon, led with ſome probable conceit, ſhould make open proteſtation, *I Peter* or *John diſallow them, and pronounce them naught?* In which caſe your anſwer will be, that concerning the Laws of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a private man, but of thouſands, yea, and even of thoſe amongſt which divers are in public charge and authority. As though when public conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared, were not private, howſoever his calling be to ſome kind of public charge. So that of peace and quietneſs there is not any way poſſible, unleſs the probable voice of every entire ſociety or body politic over-rule all private of like nature in the ſame body. Which thing effectually proveth, that God being the author of peace, and not of confuſion in the Church, muſt needs be author of thoſe men's peaceable reſolutions, who concerning theſe things have determined with themſelves to think and do as the Church they are of decreeth, till they ſee neceſſary cauſe enforcing them to the contrary.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 171.

The matter contained in theſe eight books.

7. Nor is mine own intent any other, in theſe ſeveral books of diſcourſe, than to make it appear unto you, that for the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this land, we are led by great reaſon to obſerve them, and ye by no neceſſity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my ſecret meaning, to draw you hereby into hatred, or to ſet upon the face of this cauſe any fairer gloſs, than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to reſolve the conſcience, and to ſhew, as near as I can, what in this controverſy the

the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of ſound and ſincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice or miſt of paſſionate affection. Wherefore, ſeeing that Laws and Ordinances in particular, whether ſuch as we obſerve, or ſuch as yourſelves would have eſtabliſhed; when the mind doth ſift and examine them, it muſt needs have often recourſe to a number of doubts and queſtions, about the nature, kinds, and qualities of Laws in general; whereof, unleſs it be throughly informed, there will appear no certainty to ſtay our perſuaſion upon: I have for that cauſe ſet down in the firſt place, an Introduction on both ſides needful to be conſidered; declaring therein what Law is, how different kinds of Laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind. This done, becauſe ye ſuppoſe the Laws, for which ye ſtrive, are found in Scripture; but thoſe not, againſt which ye ſtrive; and, upon this ſurmiſe, are drawn to hold it, as the very main pillar of your whole cauſe, *That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all your actions*; and conſequently, that the Church-orders which we obſerve, being not commanded in Scripture, are offenſive and unpleaſant unto God; I have ſpent the ſecond book in ſifting of this point, which ſtandeth with you for the firſt and chiefeſt principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon earth, while the world doth continue, and that Church ſtand in need of government; of which government it behoveth himſelf to be both the author and teacher; ſo it cannot ſtand with duty, that man ſhould ever preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therefore that in Scripture there muſt of neceſſity be found ſome particular form of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, the Laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration. The firſt three books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general grounds and foundations of your cauſe, unto your general accuſa-

tions

tions againſt us, as having in the Orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend) corrupted the right form of Church Polity with manifold Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, which certain reformed Churches have baniſhed from amongſt them, and have thereby given us ſuch example as (you think) we ought to follow. This your aſſertion hath herein drawn us to make ſearch, whether theſe be juſt exceptions againſt the cuſtoms of our Church, when ye plead, that they are the ſame which the Church of Rome hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other reformed Churches have deviſed. Of thoſe four books which remain, and are beſtowed about the ſpecialties of that cauſe which lieth in controverſy, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Chriſtian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments, and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch ſort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the perſons of men are conſecrated unto the Miniſtry, be diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the Laws of this Church do allow. The ſecond and third are concerning the power of Juriſdiction; the one, whether Laymen, ſuch as your governing Elders are, ought in all congregations for ever to be inveſted with that power? The other, whether Biſhops may have that power over other Paſtors, and therewithal that honour which with us they have? And becauſe, beſides the power of Order, which all conſecrated perſons have, and the power of Juriſdiction, which neither they all, nor they only have, there is a third power, a power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion, communicable, as we think, unto perſons not Eccleſiaſtical, and moſt fit to be reſtrained unto the Prince our ſovereign commander over the whole body politic; the eighth book we have allotted unto this queſtion, and have ſifted therein your objections againſt thoſe preeminences royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the brief of theſe my travels, and preſented under your view the

limbs

limbs of that cauſe litigious between us, the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it ſhall be no troubleſome thing for any man to find each particular controverſy's reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

8. The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore, my Brethren, as it doth, the wiſdom of governors ye muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange and dangerous innovations, which are more than likely to follow, if your Diſcipline ſhould take place, have for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withſtand your endeavours that way; the rather, for that they have ſeen already ſome ſmall beginning of the fruits thereof in them, who, concurring with you in judgment about the neceſſity of that Diſcipline, have adventured, without more ado, to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe men's haſtineſs, the warier ſort of you doth not commend; ye wiſh they had held themſelves longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flown abroad before the feathers of the cauſe had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye approve, naming them in great commiſeration of mind, your *poor brethren*. They on the contrary ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their *falſe brethren*; and againſt you they plead, ſaying, 'From your breaſts it is that we have ſucked thoſe things, which when ye delivered unto us, ye termed that heavenly, ſincere, and wholeſome milk of God's Word; howſoever ye now abhor as poiſon that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. Ye, ſometime our companions, guides, and familiars, with whom we have had moſt ſweet conſultations, are now become our profeſſed adverſaries, becauſe we think the Statute-congregations in England to be no true Chriſtian Churches; becauſe we have ſevered ourſelves from them; and becauſe without their leave and licence, which

How juſt cauſe there is to fear the manifold dangerous events, likely to enſue upon this intended Reformation, if it did take place.

1 Pet. ii. 2.

Pſal. lv. 13.

which are in civil authority, we have ſecretly framed our own Churches according to the platform of the Word of God: for of that point between you and us, there is no controverſy. Alas, what would ye have us to do? At ſuch time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teaching we heard, we read your writings: and though we would, yet able we are not to forget, with what zeal ye have ever profeſſed, that in the Engliſh Congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according unto their own Laws) the very public ſervice of God is fraught, as touching matter, with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the ſhop of Antichriſt; hateful both ways in the eyes of the moſt Holy; the kind of their government, by Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Antichriſtian; that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tied, that is to ſay, ſo united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the ſame Diſcipline, that very Diſcipline no leſs there deſpiſed than in the higheſt throne of Antichriſt. All ſuch parts of the Word of God, as do any way concern that Diſcipline, no leſs unſoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized Engliſh Paſtors, than by Antichriſt's factors themſelves: at Baptiſm, croſſing; at the Supper of the Lord, kneeling; at both, a number of other the moſt notorious badges of Antichriſtian recognizance uſual. Being moved with theſe and the like, your effectual diſcourſes, whereunto we gave moſt attentive ear, till they entered even into our ſouls, and were as fire within our boſoms; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Chriſt, ye, by accuſing all Congregations ordered according to the Laws of England as Antichriſtian, did mean to condemn thoſe Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Chriſtian Church.

Pref. againſt Dr. Bancr.

Ye

Ye tell us now, it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threatenings of them, who, profeſſing themſelves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they ſhould out of Babylon? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo near her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly overtake us, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſins; for ſo we could not chooſe but acknowledge with grief that we were, when they doing evil, we by our preſence in their aſſemblies ſeemed to like thereof; or at leaſtwiſe, not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt, without the leave of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our eſtates and perſons further than you, which are that way more wiſe, think neceſſary: but of any offence or ſin therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe us, when your own poſitions are, that the things we obſerve ſhould every of them be dearer unto us than ten thouſand lives; that they are the peremptory Commandments of God; that no mortal man can diſpenſe with them; and that the Magiſtrate grievouſly ſinneth, in not conſtraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men ſhould be compelled to do, that are not willing of themſelves? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwer, that we will obey, if ſo be Cæſar will grant us leave? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſtical matter, or a Civil? If an Eccleſiaſtical, it muſt of neceſſity belong to the duty of the Miniſter; and the Miniſter (ye ſay) holdeth all his authority of doing whatſoever belongeth to the ſpiritual charge of the houſe of God, even immediately from God himſelf, without dependency upon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the ſceptre of Chriſt, the Miniſter

Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelf hath put that ſceptre, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find, that hitherto greatly ye have diſliked thoſe Churches abroad, where the people, with direction of their godly Miniſters, have even againſt the will of the Magiſtrate brought in either the Doctrine or Diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you, which our Saviour did ſometime utter concerning falſe-hearted Scribes and Phariſees, *They ſay, and do not.*' Thus the fooliſh Barrowiſt deriveth his Schiſm by way of concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be ſatisfied by you, from whom he hath ſprung. And if ſuch, by your own acknowledgment, be perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likely to enſue, throughout all ſtates and vocations within this land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought upon. Firſt, concerning the ſupreme power of the Higheſt, they are no ſmall prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging, the form of your Diſcipline will conſtrain it to reſign; as in the laſt book of this treatiſe we have ſhewed at large. Again, it may juſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly ſuffer themſelves to be always at the call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of mean perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poor teacher; a man (as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the reſt: from whom, be their dealings never ſo abſurd, (unleſs it be by way of complaint to a Synod,) no appeal may be made unto any one of higher power; in as much as the order of your Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequality of Courts, no ſpiritual Judge to have any ordinary ſuperior on earth, but as many Supremacies

Matth. xxiii. 3.

cies as there are Pariſhes and Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe, that ſo many do fear the overthrow of all learning, as a threatened ſequel of this your intended Diſcipline. For if the world's preſervation depend upon the multitude of the wiſe; and of that ſort the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great, when (that wherewith the Son of Sirach profeſſeth himſelf at the heart grieved) men of underſtanding are already ſo little ſet by; how ſhould their minds whom the love of ſo precious a jewel filled with ſecret jealouſy, even in regard of the leaſt things which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, chooſe but miſdoubt leſt this Diſcipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true ſiſter, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a ſtep-mother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed unto the chiefeſt kind of learning, ye ſeek utterly to extirpate as weeds; and have grounded your platform on ſuch propoſitions, as do after a ſort undermine thoſe moſt renowned habitations, where, through the goodneſs of Almighty God, all commendable arts and ſciences are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for ever continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, and profeſſed? To charge you, as purpoſely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein ſo many of you have attained no ſmall perfection, were injurious. Only therefore, I wiſh, that yourſelves did well conſider how oppoſite certain of your poſitions are unto the ſtate of collegiate ſocieties wherein the two Univerſities conſiſt. Thoſe Degrees which their Statutes bind them to take are by your Laws taken away; yourſelves, who have ſought them, ye ſo excuſe, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be born with, for ſome help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your Laws

Sap. vi. 24.

Eccleſ. xxvi. 28.

for-

forbidding Eccleſiaſtical perſons utterly the exerciſe of civil power, muſt needs deprive the Heads and Maſters in the ſame Colleges of all ſuch authority as now they exerciſe either at home, by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who, not as children to their parents by the law of Nature, but altogether by civil authority, are ſubject unto them; or abroad, by keeping courts amongſt their tenants. Your Laws making permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters a thing repugnant to the Word of God, enforce thoſe Colleges, the Seniors whereof are all, or any part of them, Miniſters under the government of a Maſter in the ſame vocation, to chooſe as oft as they meet together a new Preſident. For if ſo ye judge it neceſſary to do in Synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters, the ſame cauſe muſt needs, even in theſe collegiate aſſemblies, enforce the like: except peradventure ye mean to avoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſolving thoſe corporations, and by bringing the Univerſities unto the form of the School of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inaſmuch as the Miniſtry, whereinto their Founders, with ſingular providence, have by the ſame Statutes appointed them neceſſarily to enter at a certain time, your Laws bind them much more neceſſarily to forbear, till ſome pariſh abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law civil is, that the knowledge thereof might be ſpared, as a thing which this land doth not need. Profeſſors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to ſpurn at them, and not to diſſemble your minds as concerning their removal: in whoſe ſtudies, although myſelf have not much been converſant, nevertheleſs, exceeding great cauſe, I ſee, there is to wiſh, that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the ſingular treaſures of wiſdom therein contained, as alſo for the great uſe we have thereof, both in deciſion of certain kinds of cauſes ariſing daily within ourſelves, and eſpecially

Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50.

eſpecially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is moſt requiſite. The reaſons wherewith ye would perſuade, that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every reſpect as effectual for proof, that the ſame is the only Law whereby to determine all our civil controverſies. And then what doth let, but that as thoſe men may have their deſire, who frankly broach it already, that the work of reformation will never be perfect, till the Law of Jeſus Chriſt be received alone; ſo Pleaders and Counſellors may bring their Books of the common Law, and beſtow them as the ſtudents of curious and needleſs arts did theirs in the Apoſtles' time? I leave them to ſcan, how far thoſe words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare, That whereas now many houſes lie waſte through inordinate ſuits of law, *this one thing will ſhew the excellency of Diſcipline for the wealth of the realm, and quiet of ſubjects; that the Church is to cenſure ſuch a party, who is apparently troubleſome and contentious, and without* reaſonable cauſe, *upon a mere will and ſtomach, doth vex and moleſt his brother, and trouble the country.* For mine own part, I do not ſee but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your Diſcipline were fully planted, even to ſend out your Writs of Surceaſe unto all Courts of England beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deal further I might proceed, and deſcend lower. But foraſmuch as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties, your anſwer is, That we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to God's will, not which be moſt for our own eaſe; and therefore that your Diſcipline being (for ſuch is your error) the abſolute commandment of Almighty God, it muſt be received, although the world by receiving it ſhould be clean turned upſide down; herein lieth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is uſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the commandments of God, but your

Acts xix. 19.

Humb. Motion, p. 74.

Counterp. p. 108.

own erroneous collections; on him ye muſt father whatſoever ye ſhall afterwards be led either to do in withſtanding the adverſaries of your cauſe, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of error, the mind once imagining itſelf to ſeek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and perſons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes, if any ſtrange or new thing ſeem requiſite to be done, a ſtrange and new opinion, concerning the lawfulneſs thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority. One example herein may ſerve for many, to ſhew, that falſe opinions touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices againſt the hindrances of them; and thoſe practices new opinions more pernicious than the firſt, yea, moſt extremely ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church, by caſting out Popiſh ſuperſtition, they having received from their paſtors a general inſtruction, *that whatſoever the heavenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out*; proceeded in ſome foreign places ſo far, that down went oratories, and the very temples of God themſelves. For as they chanced to take the compaſs of their commiſſion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſs moderate. Amongſt others, there ſprang up preſently one kind of men, with whoſe zeal and forwardneſs the reſt being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelves on rules more general; that whatſoever the Law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the Author; and that whatſoever Antichriſt or his adherents did in the world, the true profeſſors of Chriſt are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit, as neceſſary as

Matth: xv. 13.

of

of any thing before removed. Hereupon they ſecretly made their complaints every where as they went, that albeit the world did begin to profeſs ſome diſlike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkneſs, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not ſeen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteouſneſs only ſhould dwell. Private repentance, they ſaid, muſt appear by every man's faſhioning his own life, contrary unto the cuſtom and orders of this preſent world, both in greater things and in leſs. To this purpoſe, they had always in their mouths thoſe greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the croſs, the mortification of the fleſh. All their exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this world, to account riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof, not only to ſeek neither, but if men were poſſeſſors of both, even to caſt away the one, and reſign the other, that all men might ſee their unfeigned converſion unto Chriſt. They were ſolicitors of men to faſts, to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in ſecret with God by prayer, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expreſſing ſuch fervent deſire as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of houſe, or any other way obſervers of civility and decent order, ſuch they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwiſe than ſeverely and ſadly uttered, ſeemed to pierce like a ſword through them. If any man were pleaſant, their manner was preſently with ſighs to repeat thoſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye ſhall lament.* So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that ſuch as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to be in moſt dangerous caſe. They ſo much affected

Guy de Bres contre l'erreur des Anabaptiſtes, page 4.

page 5.

page 16.

page 118, 119.

page 116, 120.

Luke vi. 25.

page 117.

affected to croſs the ordinary cuſtom in every thing, that when other men's uſe was to put on better attire, they would be ſure to ſhew themſelves openly abroad in worſe. The ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of profaneneſs to uſe, and therefore accuſtomed themſelves to make no other diſtinction than by numbers, the firſt, ſecond, third day. From this they proceeded unto public reformation, firſt eccleſiaſtical, and then
page 40. civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched, that themſelves only had the truth, which thing, upon peril of their lives, they would at all times defend; and that ſince the Apoſtles lived, the ſame was never before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jeſus Chriſt by his word requireth, they began to control the Miniſters of the Goſpel, for attributing ſo much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read; whereas the truth was, that when the Word is ſaid to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the ſoul of man, or to work any ſuch ſpiritual divine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not thereunto applicable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, opening the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſo revealing the myſteries of God, according to that
Jer. xxxi. 33. which Jeremy promiſed before ſhould be, ſaying, *I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts.* The book of God they notwithſtanding for the moſt ſo admired, that other diſputation againſt their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; beſides it, they thought no other writings in the world ſhould be ſtudied; inſomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to caſt away all reſpects unto human writings, ſo far to his motion they condeſcended, that as many as had any books, ſave the holy Bible, in their cuſtody, they brought and ſet them publickly on fire. When they and their Bibles were

were alone together, what ſtrange fantaſtical opinion ſoever at any time entered into their heads, their uſe was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrenſies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the ſtate of ſouls departed, and ſuch like, are things needleſs to be rehearſed. And foraſmuch as they were of the ſame ſuit with thoſe of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſaying, *They are ſtill learning, but never attain unto the knowledge of truth*, it was no marvel to ſee them every day broach ſome new thing, not heard of before. Which reſtleſs levity they did interpret to be their growing to ſpiritual perfection, and a proceeding from faith to faith. The differences amongſt them grew by this mean in a manner infinite; ſo that ſcarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whoſe brain was not poſſeſſed with ſome ſpecial myſtery. Whereupon although their mutual contentions were moſt fiercely proſecuted amongſt themſelves, yet when they came to defend the cauſe common to them all againſt the adverſaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the founder in his own perſuaſion excuſing *the dear brethren*, which were not ſo far enlightened, and profeſſing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them, notwithſtanding their ſwerving from him in ſome things. Their own miniſters they highly magnified, as men whoſe vocation was from God; the reſt their manner was to term diſdainfully Scribes and Phariſees; to account their calling an human creature, and to detain the people, as much as might be, from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptiſm adminiſtered in the Church of Rome, they judged to be but an execrable mockery, and no Baptiſm; both becauſe the miniſters thereof in the Papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd perſons, thieves and murderers, curſed creatures, ignorant beaſts; and alſo for that to baptize, is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Chriſt, whereas Rome is Antichriſt's Synagogue.

2 Tim. iii. 7.

page 65.

page 66.

page 135.

page 25.

page 71.

page 124.

page 764.

page 748. nagogue. The cuſtom of uſing Godfathers and
page 512. Godmothers at chriſtenings, they ſcorned. Baptiſm of Infants, although confeſſed by themſelves to have
page 518. been continued even ſithence the very Apoſtles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly, becauſe ſundry errors are of no leſs antiquity; and partly, for that there is no commandment in the
page 722. Goſpel of Chriſt, which ſaith, Baptize Infants; but
page 726. he contrariwiſe in ſaying, *Go preach and baptize*, doth appoint, that the Miniſter of Baptiſm ſhall in that action firſt adminiſter doctrine, and then Bap-
page 688. tiſm; as alſo in ſaying, *Whoſoever doth believe and is baptized*, he appointeth, that the party to whom Baptiſm is adminiſtered, ſhall firſt believe, and then be baptized; to the end, that believing may go before this Sacrament in the receiver, no otherwiſe than preaching in the giver; ſith equally in both, the Law of Chriſt declareth not only what things are required, but alſo in what order they are required. The Euchariſt they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after ſupper.
page 35. And for avoiding all thoſe impieties which have been grounded upon the myſtical words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, *This is my blood*; they thought it not ſafe to mention either body or blood in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to uſe no
page 122. words but theſe, *Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord. Drink, ſhew forth our Lord's death.* In Rites and Ceremonies their profeſſion was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cauſe they would rather endure any torment, than obſerve the ſolemn feſtivals which others did, inaſmuch as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was the firſt inventor of them. The pretended end of their civil reformation was, that Chriſt might have dominion over all; that all crowns and ſceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Chriſtian men, but he; no regiment keep them in awe, but his diſcipline; amongſt them no ſword at all be carried

carried but his, the ſword of ſpiritual excommunication. For this cauſe they laboured with all their might, in overturning the ſeats of magiſtracy, be- page 841.
cauſe Chriſt hath ſaid, *Kings of nations*; in aboliſh- ing the execution of juſtice, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid, page 833.
Reſiſt not evil; in forbidding oaths, the neceſſary page 849.
means of judicial trial, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid, *Swear not at all:* finally in bringing in community page 40.
of goods, becauſe Chriſt by his Apoſtles hath given the world ſuch example, to the end, that men might excel one another, not in wealth, the pillar of ſecular authority, but in virtue. Theſe men at the firſt were only pitied in their error, and not much withſtood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinions a pledge of their harmleſs meaning. The hardeſt that men of ſound underſtanding conceived of them was but this, *O quam honeſta voluntate miſeri* Lactant. de *erant! With how good a meaning theſe poor ſouls do* Juſtit. lib. v. cap. 19. *evil!* Luther made requeſt unto Frederick Duke of page 6.
Saxony, that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and ſpared, for that (their error exempted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good men. By means of which merciful toleration they gathered ſtrength, much more than was ſafe for the ſtate of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their ſecret corner-meetings and aſſemblies in the page 41.
night, the people flocked unto them by thouſands. The means whereby they both allured and retained ſo great multitudes, were moſt effectual; firſt, a wonderful ſhew of zeal towards God, wherewith they ſeemed to be even wrapt in every thing they ſpake: ſecondly, an hatred of ſin, and a ſingular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reaſon of the cuſtom which they had to fill the ears of the people with page 55.
invectives againſt their authorized guides, as well ſpiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eaſed the broken eſtate of ſuch needy

creatures, as were in that reſpect the more apt to be drawn away: fourthly, a tender compaſſion which they were thought to take upon the miſeries of the common ſort, over whoſe heads their manner was even to pour down ſhowers of tears in complaining, that no reſpect was had unto them, that their goods
page 6. were devoured by wicked cormorants, their perſons
page 7. had in contempt, all liberty, both temporal and ſpiritual, taken from them; that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to ſend them deliverance: laſtly, a cunning ſlight which they had to ſtroke and ſmooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as alſo by caſting the contrary always on the heads of ſuch as were ſevered from that retinue. Whereupon, the people's com-
page 7. mon acclamation unto ſuch deceivers was, Theſe are verily the men of God, theſe are his true and ſincere prophets. If any ſuch prophet or man of God did ſuffer by order of law condign and deſerved puniſhment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what elſe, the people, (ſo ſtrangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though bleſſed St. Stephen had
page 27. been again martyred, did lament, that God took away his moſt dear ſervants from them. In all theſe things being fully perſuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men ſhould do the like; there remained, after ſpeculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were poſſible) might be framed. This they ſaw could not be done, but with mighty oppoſition and reſiſtance; againſt which, to ſtrengthen
page 6. themſelves, they ſecretly entered into a league of aſſociation. And peradventure conſidering, that although they were many, yet long wars would in time waſte them out; they began to think, whether it might not be, that God would have them do for their ſpeedy and mighty increaſe, the ſame which

ſometime

ſometime God's own choſen people, the people of Iſrael, did. Glad and fain they were to have it ſo; which very deſire was itſelf apt to breed both an opinion of poſſibility, and a willingneſs to gather arguments of likelihood, that ſo God himſelf would have it. Nothing more clear unto their ſeeming, than that a New Jeruſalem being often ſpoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themſelves that New Jeruſalem, and the Old did by way of a certain figurative reſemblance ſignify what they ſhould both be and do. Here they drew in a ſea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where ſpoken concerning divine favours and benefits beſtowed upon the old commonwealth of Iſrael; concluding, that as Iſrael was delivered out of Egypt, ſo they ſpiritually out of the Egypt of this world's ſervile thraldom unto ſin and ſuperſtition: as Iſrael was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant inſtead of them a people which feared God; ſo the ſame Lord's good will and pleaſure was now, that theſe new Iſraelites ſhould, under the conduct of other Joſhuas, Sampſons, and Gideons, perform a work no leſs miraculous in caſting out violently the wicked from the earth, and eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of Chriſt with perfect liberty: and therefore, as the cauſe why the children of Iſrael took unto one man many wives, might be, leſt the caſualties of war ſhould any way hinder the promiſe of God concerning their multitude, from taking effect in them; ſo it was not unlike that, for the neceſſary propagation of Chriſt's Kingdom under the Goſpel, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatſoever they did in ſuch ſort collect out of Scripture, when they came to juſtify or perſuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpoſe herein is to ſhew, that when the minds of

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men are once erroneouſly perſuaded, that it is the will of God to have thoſe things done which they fancy; their opinions are as thorns in their ſides, never ſuffering them to take reſt, till they have brought their ſpeculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice, their reſtleſs deſire and ſtudy to remove, leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, ſometimes quite and clean contrary to their firſt pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of ſuch errors as go maſked under the cloak of divine authority, impoſſible it is that ever the wit of man ſhould imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cauſe, it behoveth wiſdom to fear the ſequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cauſe of fear. Theſe men, in whoſe mouths at the firſt ſounded nothing but only mortification of the fleſh, were come, at length, to think they might lawfully have their ſix or ſeven wives apiece. They which at the firſt thought judgment and juſtice itſelf to be mercileſs cruelty, accounted, at the length, their own hands ſanctified with being imbrued in Chriſtian blood. They who at the firſt were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge againſt poor conſtables, *Kings of nations*; had, at the length, both Conſuls and Kings of their own erection amongſt themſelves. Finally, they which could not brook at the firſt, that any man ſhould ſeek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriouſly taken or withheld from him, were grown at the laſt to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable ſacrifice, than by turning their adverſaries clean out of houſe and home, and by enriching themſelves with all kind
page 41. of ſpoil and pillage. Which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readineſs their anſwer, That now the time was come, when, according to
Matth. v. 5. our Saviour's promiſe, *the meek ones muſt inherit the earth*; and that their title hereunto was the ſame
Exod. xi. 2. which the righteous Iſraelites had unto the goods of the

the wicked Egyptians. Wherefore ſith the world hath had in theſe men ſo freſh experience, how dangerous ſuch active errors are, it muſt not offend you, though touching the ſequel of your preſent miſperſuaſions, much more be doubted than your intents and purpoſes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are ſomewhat, when you affirm, that your Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of England, *whether her Majeſty and our State will or no*; when, for the animating of your confederates, ye publiſh the muſters which ye have made of your own bands, and proclaim them to amount to I know not how many thouſands; when ye threaten, that ſith neither your ſuits to the Parliament, nor ſupplications to our Convocation-houſe; neither your defences by writing, nor challenges of diſputation in behalf of that cauſe, are able to prevail, we muſt blame ourſelves, if, to bring in Diſcipline, ſome ſuch means hereafter be uſed, as ſhall cauſe all our hearts to ache. That things doubtful are to be conſtrued in the better part, is a principle not ſafe to be followed in matters concerning the public ſtate of a commonweal. But howſoever theſe and the like ſpeeches be accounted as arrows idly ſhot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; hath not your longing deſire for the practice of your Diſcipline, brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongſt you, whether the people and their godly paſtors, that way affected, ought not to make ſeparation from the reſt, and to begin the exerciſe of Diſcipline, without the licence of Civil powers, which licence they have ſought for, and are not heard? Upon which queſtion, as ye have now divided yourſelves, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; ſo in caſe theſe earneſt ones ſhould prevail, what other ſequel can any wiſe man imagine but this, that having firſt reſolved that attempts for Diſcipline with-

Mart. in his third Libel, p. 38.

Demonſtr. in the Pref.

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out ſuperiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be diſputed, what may be attempted againſt ſuperiors, which will not have the ſceptre of that Diſcipline to rule over them? Yea, even by you which have ſtaid yourſelves from running headlong with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful ſuperiors, for the exerciſe of a part of your Diſcipline amongſt the Clergy thereunto addicted. And leſt examination of principal parties therein ſhould bring thoſe things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar againſt that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the reſt, even upon this occaſion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths which may turn to the moleſtation of your brethren in that cauſe. The next neighbour opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for diſpenſation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a neceſſity of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good men into trouble or damage, whatſoever the cauſe be. O merciful God, what man's wit is there able to ſound the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearful evils, whereunto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to ſink itſelf, rather than to ſhew an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadviſedly taken upon us to defend, againſt the ſtream, as it were, of a contrary public reſolution! Wherefore, if we any thing reſpect their error, who being perſuaded, even as ye are, have gone further upon that perſuaſion than ye allow, if we regard the preſent ſtate of the higheſt Governor placed over us, if the quality and diſpoſition of our Nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous Univerſities, if the profeſſion of the Civil, or the practice of the Common Law amongſt us, if the miſchiefs whereinto, even before our eyes, ſo many others have fallen headlong from no leſs plauſible and fair beginnings than yours are; there is

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in every of these considerations most just cause to fear, lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence, should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

9. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear Brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can, to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men; deem it not impossible for you to err; sift impartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason, or vehemency of affection, which hath bred, and still doth feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glozing delusion, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory, when the same doth prevail over you. The conclusion of all.

That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, should be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many, so huge volumes, as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation, and honour, than the book wherein he carefully collecteth his own oversights, and sincerely condemneth them? Many speeches there are of Job's, whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear; but the glory of an ingenious mind he hath purchased by these words only, *Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth. I have spoken once; yet will I not therefore maintain argument: yea, twice; howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed.* Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be enjoined with you Job xl. 4, 5.

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in bands of indiſſoluble love and amity, to live as if our perſons being many, our ſouls were but one, rather than in ſuch diſmembered ſort, to ſpend our few and wretched days in a tedious proſecuting of weariſome contentions: the end whereof, if they have not ſome ſpeedy end, will be heavy, even on both ſides. Brought already we are even to that eſtate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully deſcrib-
Greg. Naz. in Apol. eth, ſaying, *My mind leadeth me* (ſith there is no other remedy) *to fly and to convey myſelf into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may eſcape from this cloudy tempeſt of malicioufneſs, whereby all parts are entered into a deadly war amongſt themſelves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The only godlineſs we glory in, is to find out ſomewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's faults we obſerve, as matters of exprobration, and not of grief. By theſe means we are grown hateful in the eyes of the Heathens themſelves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny, but that we have deſerved their hatred: with the better ſort of our own our fame and credit is clean loſt. The leſs we are to marvel, if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they alſo build that are lewd, and what we object one againſt another, the ſame they uſe, to the utter ſcorn and diſgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-diſſenſions: this we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to ſtrive, than becometh men of virtuous and mild diſpoſition.* But our truſt in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at the higheſt float, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpair is there?) when the paſſions of former enmity being allayed, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, ſhew ourſelves each towards other the ſame which Joſeph and the brethren of Joſeph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſty deſire whereof, what

what man ſoever amongſt you ſhall any way help to ſatisfy, (as we truly hope, there is no one amongſt you, but ſome way or other will,) the bleſſings of the God of peace, both in this world, and in the world to come, be upon him more than the ſtars of the firmament in number.

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED

IN THE

FOLLOWING BOOKS.

BOOK I.

Concerning Laws in general.

BOOK II.

Of the uſe of divine Law contained in Scripture; whether that be the only Law which ought to ſerve for our direction in all things, without exception?

BOOK III.

Of Laws concerning Eccleſiaſtical Polity: whether the form thereof be in Scripture ſo ſet down, that no addition or change is lawful?

BOOK IV.

Of general exceptions taken againſt the Laws of our Polity, as being Popiſh, and baniſhed out of certain reformed Churches.

BOOK V.

Of our Laws which concern the public religious duties of the Church, and the manner of beſtowing that Power

of Order, which enableth men in ſundry degrees and callings to execute the ſame.

BOOK VI.

Of the Power of Juriſdiction, which the reformed Platform claimeth unto Lay-elders, with others.

BOOK VII.

Of the Power of Juriſdiction, and the honour which is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.

BOOK VIII.

Of the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion or ſupreme Authority, which with us the higheſt Governor or Prince hath, as well in regard of domeſtical Juriſdictions, as of that other foreignly claimed by the Biſhop of Rome.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK I.

Concerning Laws, and their ſeveral kinds in general.

The Matter contained in this Firſt Book.

1. *The cauſe of writing this general Diſcourſe concerning Laws.*
2. *Of that Law which God from the beginning hath ſet for himſelf, to do all things by.*
3. *The Law which natural agents obſerve, and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.*
4. *The Law which the Angels of God obey.*
5. *The Law whereby Man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.*
6. *Men's firſt beginning to underſtand that Law.*
7. *Of Man's Will, which is the firſt thing that Laws of Action are made to guide.*

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8. *Of the natural finding out of Laws by the light of Reaſon, to guide the will unto that which is good.*
9. *Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reaſon teacheth.*
10. *How Reaſon doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws, whereby the fellowſhip or communion of independent Societies ſtandeth.*
11. *Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known ſuch ſupernatural Laws, as do ſerve for men's direction.*
12. *The cauſe why ſo many natural or rational Laws are ſet down in holy Scripture.*
13. *The benefit of having divine Laws written.*
14. *The ſufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was inſtituted.*
15. *Of Laws poſitive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general uſe of Scripture.*
16. *A Concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.*

The cauſe of writing this general Diſcourſe.

HE that goeth about to perſuade a multitude, that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to be, ſhall never want attentive and favourable hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regiment is ſubject; but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reprove ſuppoſed diſorders of State, are taken for principal friends to the common benefit of all, and for men that carry ſingular freedom of mind; under this fair and plauſible colour, whatſoever they utter, paſſeth for good and current. That which wanteth in the weight of their ſpeech, is ſupplied by the aptneſs of men's minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintain

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maintain things that are eſtabliſhed, we have not only to ſtrive with a number of heavy prejudices, deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we ſerve the time, and ſpeak in favour of the preſent State, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeek preferment; but alſo to bear ſuch exceptions as minds, ſo averted beforehand, uſually take againſt that which they are loth ſhould be poured into them. Albeit therefore much of that we are to ſpeak in this preſent cauſe may ſeem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, dark, and intricate; (for many talk of the truth, which never ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth: and therefore when they are led thereunto, they are ſoon weary, as men drawn from thoſe beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not ſo far prevail, as to cut off that which the matter itſelf requireth, howſoever the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They unto whom we ſhall ſeem tedious, are in no wiſe injured by us, becauſe it is in their own hands to ſpare that labour, which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obſcurity, they muſt conſider, that in theſe matters it cometh no otherwiſe to paſs, than in ſundry the works both of art, and alſo of nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding itſelf oftentimes not ſeen. The ſtatelineſs of houſes, the goodlineſs of trees, when we behold them, delighteth the eye; but that foundation which beareth up the one, that root which miniſtereth unto the other nourithment and life, is in the boſom of the earth concealed; and if there be occaſion at any time to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary than pleaſant, both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers-on. In like manner, the uſe and benefit of good Laws, all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt original cauſes from whence they have ſprung be unknown, as to the greateſt part

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of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend, that the Laws which they ſhould obey are corrupt and vicious; for better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very foundation and root, the higheſt well-ſpring and fountain of them to be diſcovered. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to do, when we do do it, the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the matters which we handle ſeem, by reaſon of newneſs, (till the mind grow better acquainted with them,) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof, as may be in this caſe, I have endeavoured throughout the body of this whole Diſcourſe, that every former part might give ſtrength unto all that follow, and every latter bring ſome light unto all before. So that if the judgments of men do but hold themſelves in ſuſpenſe, as touching theſe firſt more general meditations, till in order they have peruſed the reſt that enſue; what may ſeem dark at the firſt, will afterwards be found more plain, even as the latter particular deciſions will appear, I doubt not, more ſtrong, when the other have been read before. The Laws of the Church, whereby for ſo many ages together we have been guided in the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, and the ſervice of the true God, our Rites, Cuſtoms, and Orders of Eccleſiaſtical Government are called in queſtion. We are accuſed as men that will not have Chriſt Jeſus to rule over them; but have wilfully caſt his ſtatutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed and made ſubject unto the ſceptre of his diſcipline. Behold therefore, we offer the Laws whereby we live unto the general trial and judgment of the whole world; heartily beſeeching Almighty God, whom we deſire to ſerve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kind of partial affection being clean laid aſide) may have eyes to ſee, and hearts to embrace the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe

becauſe the point, about which we ſtrive, is the quality of our Laws, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with conſideration of the nature of Law in general, and of that Law which giveth life unto all the reſt which are commendable, juſt, and good, namely, the Law whereby the Eternal himſelf doth work. Proceeding from hence to the Law, firſt of Nature, then of Scripture, we ſhall have the eaſier acceſs unto thoſe things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular cauſe and queſtion which we have in hand.

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelf to do all things by.

2. All things that are, have ſome operation not violent or caſual: neither doth any thing ever begin to exerciſe the ſame, without ſome fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for is not obtained, unleſs the work be alſo fit to obtain it by; for unto every end, every operation will not ſerve. That which doth aſſign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and meaſure of working, the ſame we term a Law. So that no certain end could ever be attained, unleſs the actions whereby it is attained were regular; that is to ſay, made ſuitable, fit, and correſpondent unto their end, by ſome Canon, rule, or Law. Which thing doth firſt take place in the works even of God himſelf. All things therefore do work after a ſort according to Law; all other things according to a Law, whereof ſome ſuperior, unto whom they are ſubject, is author; only the works and operations of God have him both for their worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God is a kind of Law to his working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that he doth. Thoſe natural, neceſſary, and internal operations of God, the Generation of the Son, the Proceeding of the Spirit, are without the compaſs of my preſent

BOOK I. intent; which is to touch only ſuch operations as have their beginning and being by a voluntary purpoſe, wherewith God hath eternally decreed when and how they ſhould be; which eternal decree is that we term an eternal Law. Dangerous it were for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the moſt High; whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of his name; yet our ſoundeſt knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him: and our ſafeſt eloquence concerning him, is our ſilence, when we confeſs without confeſſion, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatneſs above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. Our God is one, or rather very oneneſs, and mere unity, having nothing but Itſelf in Itſelf, and not conſiſting (as all things do beſides God) of many things. In which eſſential Unity of God, a Trinity perſonal neverthleſs ſubſiſteth, after a manner far exceeding the poſſibility of man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in ſuch ſort of him being one, that each perſon hath in them ſomewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all ſubſiſting in the eſſence of one Deity, from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the ſame we have at the hands of the Spirit, as being the laſt; and therefore the neareſt unto us in order, although in power the ſame with the ſecond and the firſt. The wiſe and learned amongſt the very Heathens themſelves have all acknowledged ſome Firſt Cauſe, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwiſe ſpoken of that cauſe than as an agent, which knowing what and why it worketh, obſerveth in working a moſt exact order or Law. Thus much is ſignified by

John xvi. 13, 14, 15.

by that which Homer mentioneth, [a] Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by Mercurius Triſmegiſtus, [b] Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς, οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confeſſed by Anaxagoras and Plato, terming the Maker of the world an *Intellectual worker*. Finally, the Stoics, although imagining the firſt cauſe of all things to be fire, held nevertheleſs, that the ſame fire having art, did [c] Ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου. They all confeſs therefore, in the working of that firſt cauſe, that counſel is uſed, reaſon followed, a way obſerved, that is to ſay, conſtant order and Law is kept, whereof itſelf muſt needs be author unto itſelf: otherwiſe it ſhould have ſome worthier and higher to direct it, and ſo could not itſelf be firſt; being the firſt, it can have no other than itſelf to be the author of that Law which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a Law both to himſelf, and to all other things beſides. To himſelf he is a Law in all thoſe things whereof our Saviour ſpeaks, ſaying, *My Father worketh as yet, ſo* John v. 17. *I*. God worketh nothing without cauſe. All thoſe things which are done by him, have ſome end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a reaſon of his will to do them. His will had not inclined to create woman, but that he ſaw it could not be well if ſhe were not created. *Non eſt bonum, It is not good man ſhould be* Gen. ii. 18. *alone*; therefore let us make an helper for him. That and nothing elſe is done by God, which to leave undone were not ſo good. If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithſtanding of that power are all ſo limited as we ſee they are? The reaſon hereof is, the end which he hath propoſed, and the Law whereby his wiſdom hath ſtinted the effects of his

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[a] Jupiter's counſel was accompliſhed.

[b] The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by reaſon. Stob. in Eclog. Phyſ.

[c] Proceed by a certain and ſet way in the making of the world.

power

BOOK I.

power in ſuch ſort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correſpondently unto that end for which it worketh, even all things, χρήσως, in moſt decent and comely ſort, all things in meaſure, number, and weight. The general end of God's eternal working is the exerciſe of his moſt glorious and moſt abundant virtue. Which abundance doth ſhew itſelf in variety, and for that cauſe this variety is oftentimes in Scripture expreſſed by the name of *riches*. *The Lord hath made all things for his own ſake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to ſhew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every act proceeding externally from God, we are not able to diſcern, and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reaſon of his works. Howbeit, undoubtedly, a proper and certain reaſon there is of every finite work of God, inaſmuch as there is a Law impoſed upon it; which if there were not, it ſhould be infinite even as the worker himſelf is. They err therefore who think that of the will of God to do this or that, there is no reaſon beſides his will. Many times no reaſon known to us; but that there is no reaſon thereof, I judge it moſt unreaſonable to imagine, inaſmuch as he worketh all things, Κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not only according to his own will, but *the counſel of his own will.* And whatſoever is done with counſel or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſity ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to us in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of man to ſtand, as the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf doth, amazed thereat; *O the depth of the riches, both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God. How unſearchable are his judgments*, &c. That Law eternal which God himſelf hath made to himſelf, and thereby worketh all things, whereof he is the cauſe and author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof ſhineth the moſt perfect beauty, the countenance of that Wiſdom which hath teſtified concerning herſelf, *The Lord poſſeſſed*

Wiſd. viii. 1. and xi. 17.

Epheſ. i. 7. Phil. iv. 19. Col. ii. 3. Prov. xvi. 4.

Epheſ. i. 11.

Rom. xi. 33.

Pro. viii. 22.

ſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old, I was ſet up; that Law which hath been the pattern to make, and is the card to guide the world by; that Law which hath been of God, and with God everlaſtingly; that Law, the author and obſerver whereof is one only God, to be bleſſed for ever; how ſhould either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold! The book of this Law we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof, which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the reſt, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore, that according to this Law he worketh, *Of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things*; although there ſeem to us confuſion and diſorder in the affairs of this preſent world: *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites:* let no man doubt, but that every thing is well done, becauſe the world is ruled by ſo good a guide, as tranſgreſſeth not his own Law: than which, nothing can be more abſolute, perfect, and juſt. The Law whereby he worketh is eternal, and therefore can have no ſhew or colour of mutability. For which cauſe, a part of that Law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but declarations, what God will do for the good of men) touching thoſe promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, that God may as poſſibly deny himſelf, and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the counſel of God, he termeth it likewiſe a thing unchangeable; the counſel of God, and that Law of God, whereof now we ſpeak, being one. Nor is the freedom of the will of God any whit abated, let, or hindered, by means of this; becauſe the impoſition of this Law upon himſelf, is his own free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name eternal, being that order which God before all ages hath ſet down with himſelf, for himſelf to do all things by.

Rom. xi. 36.

Boet. lib. 4. de Conſ. Philoſ.

2 Tim. ii. 13.

Heb. vi. 17.

BOOK I.

3. I am not ignorant, that by Law eternal, the learned for the moſt part do underſtand the order, not which God hath eternally purpoſed himſelf in all his works to obſerve, but rather that, which with himſelf he hath ſet down as expedient to be kept by all his creatures, according to the ſeveral conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accuſtomed to ſpeak, apply the name of Law unto that only rule of working, which ſuperior authority impoſeth; whereas we ſomewhat more enlarging the ſenſe thereof, term any kind of rule or Canon, whereby actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law, which, as it is laid up in the boſom of God, they call eternal, receiveth, according unto the different kind of things which are ſubject unto it, different and ſundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth natural agents, we call uſually Nature's Law; that which Angels do clearly behold, and without any ſwerving obſerve, is a Law celeſtial and heavenly; the Law of Reaſon, that which bindeth creatures reaſonable in this world, and with which by reaſon they moſt plainly perceive themſelves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by ſpecial revelation from God, divine Law. Human Law, that which out of the Law, either of reaſon or of God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a Law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto this ſecond Law eternal; and even thoſe things, which to this eternal Law are not conformable, are notwithſtanding in ſome ſort ordered by the firſt eternal Law. For what good or evil is there under the ſun; what action correſpondent or repugnant unto the Law which God hath impoſed upon his creatures, but in, or upon it, God doth work according to the Law which himſelf hath eternally purpoſed to keep; that is to ſay, the firſt eternal Law? So that a twofold Law eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take

The Law which natural Agents have given them to obſerve, and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.

take place in [a] all things. Wherefore to come to the Law of Nature, albeit thereby we ſometimes mean that manner of working which God hath ſet for each created thing to keep; yet foraſmuch as thoſe things are termed moſt properly natural agents, which keep the Law of their kind unwittingly, as the heavens and elements of the world, which can do no otherwiſe than they do: and foraſmuch as we give unto intellectual natures the name of voluntary agents, that ſo we may diſtinguiſh them from the other, expedient it will be, that we ſever the Law of Nature obſerved by the one, from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their ſtrict keeping of one tenure, ſtatute, and Law is ſpoken of by all, but hath in it more than men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever ſhall attain, ſeeing the travel of wading herein is given of God to the ſons of men; that perceiving how much the leaſt thing in the world hath in it, more than the wiſeſt are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. Moſes, in deſcribing the work of creation, attributeth ſpeech unto God: *God ſaid, let there be light: let there be a firmament: let the waters under the heavens be gathered together into one place: let the earth bring forth: let there be* BOOK I.

[a] Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, eſt materia legis æternæ. Th. l. 1, 2. q. 93. art. 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus ſummi Creatoris ordinationique ſubtrahitur, a quo pax univerſitatis adminiſtratur. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib. xix. cap 22. Immo et peccatum, quatenus a Deo juſte permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ ſubjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis tranſgreſſio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inſerit, juxta illud Auguſtini, Juſtiſti Domine, et ſic eſt, ut pœna ſua ſibi ſit omnis animus inordinatus. Confeſ. lib. i. cap. 12. Nec male Scholaſtici; Quemadmodum, inquiunt, videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipſo quod a fine particulari ſuo, atque adeo a lege æterna exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus conſequuntur alium finem a lege etiam æterna ipſis in caſu particulari conſtitutum: ſic veriſimile eſt homines etiam cum peccant et deſciſcunt a lege æterna ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.

lights

BOOK I.

lights in the firmament of heaven. Was this only the intent of Moſes, to ſignify the infinite greatneſs of God's power, by the eaſineſs of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without travel, pain, or labour? Surely, it ſeemeth that Moſes had herein, beſides this, a further purpoſe, namely, firſt, to teach that God did not work as a neceſſary, but a voluntary agent, intending beforehand, and decreeing with himſelf, that which did outwardly proceed from him. Secondly, to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a Law natural to be obſerved by creatures; and therefore according to the manner of Laws, the inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemn injunction. His commanding thoſe things to be which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, to keep that tenure and courſe which they do, importeth the eſtabliſhment of Nature's Law. The world's firſt creation, and the preſervation ſince of things created, what is it, but only ſo far forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the eternal Law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to paſs in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a Law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all ſtates framing themſelves thereunto; even ſo let us think it fareth in the natural courſe of the world: ſince the time that God did firſt proclaim the edicts of his Law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: *he made a Law for the rain*; he gave his *decree unto the ſea, that the waters ſhould not paſs his commandment.* Now, if Nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſervation of her own Laws; if thoſe principal and mother-elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, ſhould loſe the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads ſhould looſen and diſſolve itſelf; if celeſtial ſpheres ſhould forget their wonted motions, and

and by irregular volubility turn themſelves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied courſe, ſhould, as it were, through a languiſhing faintneſs, begin to ſtand, and to reſt himſelf; if the moon ſhould wander from her beaten way, the times and ſeaſons of the year blend themſelves by diſordered and confuſed mixture, the winds breathe out their laſt gaſp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away, as children at the breaſts of their mother, no longer able to yield them relief; what would become of man himſelf, whom theſe things do now all ſerve? See we not plainly, that obedience of creatures unto the Law of Nature is the ſtay of the whole world? Notwithſtanding, with Nature it cometh ſometimes to paſs as with art. Let Phidias have rude and obſtinate ſtuff to carve, though his art do that it ſhould, his work will lack that beauty which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might have had. He that ſtriketh an inſtrument with ſkill, may cauſe notwithſtanding a very unpleaſant ſound, if the ſtring whereon he ſtriketh chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural conſiſt, that of Theophraſtus takes place, Πολὺ τὸ ἐχ ὑπαχτὸν ἁδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ. *Much of it is oftentimes ſuch, as will by no means yield to receive that impreſſion which were beſt and moſt perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themſelves unto the contemplation of Nature amongſt the Heathen, obſerved often: but the true original cauſe thereof, divine malediction, laid for the ſin of man upon theſe creatures, which God had made for the uſe of man, this being an article of that ſaving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their merely natural capacity and underſtanding. But howſoever, theſe ſwervings are now and then incident into the courſe of Nature; nevertheleſs ſo conſtantly the

Pſ. xix. 5.

Theophraſt. in Metaph.

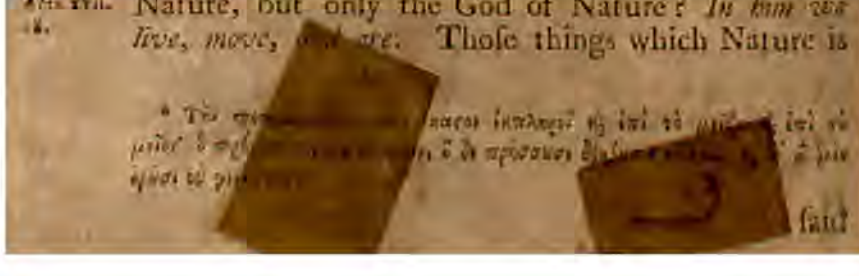
Laws

BOOK I.

Laws of Nature are by natural agents obſerved, that no man denieth, but thoſe things which Nature worketh are wrought either always, or for the moſt part, after one and the ſame manner. If here it be demanded, what this is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her own Law, we muſt have recourſe to that higher Law, whereof we have already ſpoken; and becauſe all other Laws do thereon depend, from thence we muſt borrow ſo much as ſhall need for brief reſolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as ſome are, that Nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which ſubſiſting in the boſom of the Higheſt, and being thence diſcovered, ſhe fixeth her eye upon them, as travellers by ſea upon the pole-ſtar of the world, and that according thereunto ſhe guideth her hand to work by imitation: although we rather embrace the oracle of Hippocrates[2], *That each thing, both in ſmall and in great, fulfilleth the taſk which deſtiny hath ſet down.* And concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the ſame, *What they do they know not, yet is it in ſhew and appearance as though they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not diſcern the things which they look on:* nevertheleſs, for as much as the works of Nature are no leſs exact, than if ſhe did both behold and ſtudy how to expreſs ſome abſolute ſhape or mirror always preſent before her; yea, ſuch her dexterity and ſkill appeareth, that no intellectual creature in the world were able by capacity to do that which Nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be, but Nature hath ſome director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who is the guide of Nature, but only the God of Nature? *In him we live, move, and are.* Thoſe things which Nature is

Arist. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Acts xvii. 28.



ſaid

ſaid to do, are by divine art performed, uſing Nature as an inſtrument; nor is there any ſuch art or knowledge divine in Nature herſelf working, but in the guide of Nature's work. Whereas therefore things natural, which are not in the number of voluntary agents, (for of ſuch only we now ſpeak, and of no other,) do ſo neceſſarily obſerve their certain Laws, that as long as they keep thoſe [a] forms which give them their being, they cannot poſſibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwiſe than they do; ſeeing the kinds of their operations are both conſtantly and exactly framed, according to the ſeveral ends for which they ſerve, they themſelves in the mean while, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why; it followeth, that all which they do in this ſort, proceedeth originally from ſome ſuch agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the ſame. The manner of this divine efficiency being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our reaſon, than creatures unreaſonable by their ſenſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affairs. Only thus much is diſcerned, that the natural generation and proceſs of all things reſteth in order of proceeding from the firſt fountain of divine underſtanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working; the diſpoſition whereof, in the purity of God's own knowledge and will, is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The ſame being referred unto the things themſelves, here diſpoſed by it, was wont by the Ancients to be called Natural Deſtiny. That Law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical, or an original draught, written in the boſom of God

[a] Form in other creatures is a thing proportionable unto the Soul in living creatures. Senſible it is not, nor otherwiſe diſcernible than only by effects. According to the diverſity of inward forms, things of the world are diſtinguiſhed into their kinds.

BOOK I. himſelf; whoſe Spirit being to execute the ſame, uſeth every particular nature, every mere natural agent, only as an inſtrument created at the beginning, and ever ſince the beginning, uſed to work his own will and pleaſure withal[a]. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but God's inſtrument. In the courſe whereof, Dionyſius, perceiving ſome ſudden diſturbance, is ſaid to have cried out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſolvitur*; either God doth ſuffer impediment, and is by a greater than himſelf hindered; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the world; the execution of that Law beginning now to ſtand ſtill, without which the world cannot ſtand. This workman, whoſe ſervitor Nature is, being in truth but only one, the Heathens imagining to be more, gave him in the ſky the name of Jupiter; in the air, the name of Juno; in the water, the name of Neptune; in the earth, the name of Veſta, and ſometimes of Ceres; the name of Apollo in the ſun; in the moon, the name of Diana; the name of Æolus, and divers other, in the winds; and to conclude, even ſo many guides of Nature they dreamed of as they ſaw there were kinds of things natural in the world. Theſe they honoured, as having power to work or ceaſe accordingly as men deſerved of them: but unto us, there is one only guide of all agents natural, and he both the creator and the worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored, and honoured by all for ever. That which hitherto hath been ſpoken, concerneth natural agents, conſidered in themſelves: but we muſt further remember alſo, (which thing to touch, in a word, ſhall ſuffice,) that as in this reſpect they have their Law, which Law

[a] Vide [illegible] Theol. cap. 3. Omne quod movetur ab [illegible] inſtrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum [illegible] apud indoctos [illegible] tum moveri non [illegible] ipſi agente.

obſerveth

directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection; ſo likewiſe another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts united into one body: a Law which bindeth them each to ſerve unto others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole, before whatſoever their own particular, as we plainly ſee they do, when things natural in that regard, forget their ordinary natural wont: that which is heavy, mounting ſometime upwards of its own accord, and forſaking the center of the earth, which to itſelf is moſt natural, even as if it did hear itſelf commanded to let go the good it privately wiſheth, and to relieve the preſent diſtreſs of Nature in common. BOOK I.

4. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the footſtool to the throne of God, and leaving theſe natural, conſider a little the ſtate of heavenly and divine creatures: touching Angels, which are Spirits immaterial and intellectual, the glorious inhabitants of thoſe ſacred palaces, where nothing but light and bleſſed immortality, no ſhadow of matter for tears, diſcontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable paſſions to work upon, but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever do dwell; as in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal armies, ſo likewiſe in perfection of obedience unto that Law, which the Higheſt, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath impoſed upon them, ſuch obſervants they are thereof, that our Saviour himſelf, being to ſet down the perfect idea of that which we are to pray and wiſh for on earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more, than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in heaven. God which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only, doth otherwiſe move intellectual creatures, and eſpecially his holy Angels: for beholding the face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellency, they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inſeparably

The Law which Angels do work by. Pſal. civ. 4. Heb. i. 7. Epheſ. iii. 10. Dan. vii. 10. Matth. xxvi. 53. Heb. xii. 22. Luke ii. 13. Matth. vi. 10. Matth. xviii. 10.

BOOK I.

for ever unto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodneſs maketh them unweariable and even unſatiable in their longing, to do by all means all manner of good unto all the creatures of God, but eſpecially unto the children of men. In the countenance of whoſe nature looking downward, they behold themſelves beneath themſelves, even as upward in God, beneath whom themſelves are, they ſee that character which is no where but in themſelves and us reſembled. Thus far even the Painims have approached; thus far they have ſeen into the doings of the Angels of God; Orpheus confeſſing, that the fiery throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, careful how all things are performed amongſt men[a]; and the mirror of human wiſdom plainly teaching, that God moveth Angels, even as that thing doth ſtir man's heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelical actions may therefore be reduced unto theſe three general kinds. Firſt, moſt delectable love ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the purity, glory, and beauty of God inviſible, ſaving only unto Spirits that are pure: Secondly, adoration, grounded upon the evidence of the greatneſs of God, on whom they ſee how all things depend[b]: Thirdly, imitation, bred by the preſence of his exemplary goodneſs, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill heaven and earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and undeſerved grace. Of Angels we are not to conſider only what they are and do, in regard of their own being, but that alſo which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of corporation amongſt themſelves, and of ſociety or fellowſhip with men. Conſider Angels, each of them ſeverally in himſelf, and their Law is that which the

Pſal. xci. 11, 12. Luke xv. 7. Heb. i. 14. Acts x. 3. Dan. ix. 23. and iv. 13.

Ariſt. Metaph. xii. cap. 7.

Job xxxviii. 7. Matt. xviii. 10. Pſ. cxviii. 2. Heb. i. 6. Iſai. vi. 3.

[a] Τῷ [illegible] κολυμόχθοι
Ἄγγελοι, [illegible] πάντα τελεῖται.

[b] This is [illegible] ever we find them termed *the Sons of God*, as Job [illegible] 7.

Prophet

Prophet David mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praiſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their Law is that which diſpoſeth them as an army, one in order and degree above another. Conſider finally the Angels as having with us that communion which the Apoſtle to the Hebrews noteth; and in regard whereof, Angels have not diſdained to profeſs themſelves our fellow-ſervants; from hence there ſpringeth up a third Law, which bindeth them to works of miniſterial employment. Every of which their ſeveral functions are by them performed with joy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high and admirable virtue. Impoſſible it was, that ever their will ſhould change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without ſome object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliſs, wherein now the elect Angels are without poſſibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God, they could not by any means like, as long as whatſoever they knew beſides God, they apprehended it not in itſelf, without dependency upon God; becauſe ſo long, God muſt needs ſeem infinitely better than any thing which they ſo could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented unto their eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee always, how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therefore, that there was no other way for Angels to ſin, but by reflex of their underſtanding upon themſelves; when being held with admiration of their own ſublimity and honour, the memory of their ſubordination unto God, and their dependency on him, was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God, could not chooſe but be alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was pride;

Pſ. clxviii. 2.

Heb. xii. 22.

Apoc. xxii. 9.

2 Pet. ii. 4. Jude 6.

BOOK I.

since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned; for being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water; some among the minerals, dens, and caves that are under the earth; they have, by all means, laboured to effect an universal rebellion against the Laws, and, as far as in them lieth, utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked Spirits the Heathens honoured instead of Gods, both generally under the name of *Dii inferi*, Gods infernal; and particularly, some in Oracles, some in Idols, some as household Gods, some as Nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked Spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world, and dissolved the works of the Devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for Angels, the next unto whom in degree are Men.

Joh. viii. 44. 1 Pet. v. 8. Apoc. ix. 11. Gen. iii. 15. 1 Chr. xxi. 1. Job i. 7. and ii. 2. John xiii. 27. Acts v. 3. Apoc. xx. 8.

The Law whereby Man is in his actions directed to the imitation of God.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not; all other things besides are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter than now they are. All which perfections are contained under the general name of Goodness. And because there is not in the world any thing whereby another may not be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Again, sith there can be no goodness desired, which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supreme cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at least wise resemble the cause from which it proceedeth: all things in the world are said [illegible] to seek the highest, and to covet [illegible] participation of God himself[a];

[a] [illegible] Arist. de An. lib. ii. cap. 4.

yet

yet this doth no where ſo much appear, as it doth in Man, becauſe there are ſo many kinds of perfection which Man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of goodneſs is that general perfection which all things do ſeek, in deſiring the continuance of their being; all things therefore coveting, as much as may be, to be like unto God in being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain perſonally, doth ſeek to continue itſelf another way; that is, by offspring and propagation. The next degree of goodneſs is that which each thing coveteth, by affecting reſemblance with God, in the conſtancy and excellency of thoſe operations which belong unto their kind. The immutability of God they ſtrive unto, by working either always, or for the moſt part, after one and the ſame manner; his abſolute exactneſs they imitate, by tending unto that which is moſt exquiſite in every particular. Hence have riſen a number of Axioms in Philoſophy [a], ſhewing how the works of Nature do always aim at that which cannot be bettered. Theſe two kinds of goodneſs rehearſed, are ſo nearly united to the things themſelves which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceive the appetite to ſtir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe perfections which grow externally is more apparent, eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſsly deſired, unleſs they be firſt known, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe than for knowledge itſelf deſired. Concerning perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the knowledge of truth, and by growing in the exerciſe of virtue, Man, amongſt the creatures of this inferior world, aſpireth to the greateſt conformity with God. This is not only known unto us, whom he himſelf hath ſo inſtructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongſt men are not judged the neareſt unto him. With Plato, what one thing more

Matt. v. 48. Wiſd. vii. 27.

[a] Ἐν τοῖς φύσει διὰ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδεχόμενα ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. Ariſt. 2. de Cœl. cap. 5.

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uſual, than to excite men unto a love of wiſdom, by ſhewing, how much wiſe men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raiſe them up into heaven; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and divine? And Mercurius Triſmegiſtus ſpeaking of the virtues of a righteous ſoul [a], *Such ſpirits* (ſaith he) *are never cloyed with praiſing and ſpeaking well of all men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, becauſe they ſtudy to frame themſelves according to* the pattern *of the Father of ſpirits.*

Men's firſt beginning to grow to the knowledge of that Law which they are to obſerve. Vide Iſa. vii. 16.

6. In the matter of knowledge, there is between the Angels of God and the children of Men this difference: Angels already have full and complete knowledge in the higheſt degree that can be imparted unto them: Men, if we view them in their ſpring, are at the firſt without underſtanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheleſs, from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the Angels themſelves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other ſhall attain unto in the end; they are not ſo far disjoined and ſevered, but that they come at length to meet. The Soul of Man being therefore at the firſt as a book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to ſearch by what ſteps and degrees it riſeth unto perfection of knowledge. Unto that which hath been already ſet down, concerning natural agents, this we muſt add, that albeit therein we have compriſed, as well creatures living, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath men; nevertheleſs, a difference we muſt obſerve between thoſe natural agents that work altogether unwittingly; and thoſe which have, though weak, yet ſome underſtanding what they do, as fiſhes, fowls, and

[a] Ἡ δὲ [illegible] ἔχει, ἱμοῖτα, εἰφημῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπ[illegible] πάντας εἰποιῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

beaſts

beasts have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as stones, though in dignity of nature inferior to plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength, or durability of being; and plants, though beneath the excellency of creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the faculty of vegetation, and of fertility; so beasts, though otherwise behind men, may notwithstanding in actions of sense and fancy go beyond them; because the endeavours of nature, when it hath an higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them. The Soul of Man therefore, being capable of a more divine perfection, hath (besides the faculty of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with beasts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no shew at all, the ability of reaching [a] higher than unto sensible things. Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the Soul of Man doth only store itself with conceits of things of inferior and more open quality, which afterwards do serve as instruments unto that which is greater; in the mean while, above the reach of meaner creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradiction in speech, we then count it to have some use of natural reason. Whereunto, if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true art and learning, (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the world, carrying the name of a learned age, doth neither much know, nor greatly regard,) there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men there-

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[a] Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μέ. ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. Merc. Trif.

with

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with inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now, and innocents. Which ſpeech, if any condemn as being over hyperbolical, let them conſider but this one thing: no art is at the firſt finding out ſo perfect as induſtry may after make it; yet the very firſt man that to any purpoſe knew the way we ſpeak of and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more, very near, in all parts of natural knowledge, than ſithence in any one part thereof the whole world beſides hath done. In the poverty of that other new deviſed aid two things are notwithſtanding ſingular. Of marvellous quick diſpatch it is, and doth ſhew them that have it as much almoſt in three days, as if it had dwelt threeſcore years with them. Again, becauſe the curioſity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the ſearch of things than were convenient; the ſame is thereby reſtrained unto ſuch generalities as every where offering themſelves are apparent unto men of the weakeſt conceit that need be: ſo as following the rules and precepts thereof, we may find it to be an art which teacheth the way of ſpeedy diſcourſe, and reſtraineth the mind of man that it may not wax over-wiſe. Education and inſtruction are the means, the one by uſe, the other by precept, to make our natural faculty of reaſon both the better and the ſooner able to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil. But at what time a man may be ſaid to have attained ſo far forth the uſe of reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe Laws whereby he is then bound to guide his actions; this is a great deal more eaſy for common ſenſe to diſcern, than for any man by ſkill and learning to determine; even as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt know the nature both of fire and gold, to teach what degree of the one will ſerve to purify the other, ſo well as the artificer which doth this by fire) diſcerneth by ſight when the fire hath that degree of heat which is fittest for his purpoſe.

Ariſtotelical Demonſtration. Ramiſtry.

7. By

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7. By reaſon Man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are, and are not ſenſible; it reſteth therefore, that we ſearch how Man attaineth unto the knowledge of ſuch things unſenſible, as are to be known that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move unleſs there be ſome end, the deſire whereof provoketh unto motion; how ſhould that divine power of our Soul, that *ſpirit of our mind*, as the Apoſtle termeth it, ever ſtir itſelf unto action, unleſs it have alſo the like ſpur? The end for which we are moved to work, is ſometimes the goodneſs which we conceive of the very working itſelf, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action is the mere deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is ſaid, *Illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur.* They thought the very diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed an hire ſufficient to ſet them on work. Sometimes that which we do is referred to a further end, without the deſire whereof we would leave the ſame undone; as in their actions that gave alms to purchaſe thereby the praiſe of men. Man in perfection of nature being made according to the likeneſs of his Maker, reſembleth him alſo in the manner of working; ſo that whatſoever we work as men, the ſame we do wittingly work and freely: neither are we according to the manner of natural agents any way ſo tied, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the very doing itſelf, cauſeth not action, unleſs apprehending it as good we ſo like and deſire it. That we do unto any ſuch end, the ſame we chooſe and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unleſs the thing which we take be ſo in our power, that we might have refuſed and left it. If fire conſumeth the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to do, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch that it can do no other. To

Of Man's Will, which is the thing that Laws of action are made to guide.

Eph. iv. 23.

Saluſt.

Matt. vi. 2.

chooſe,

BOOK I. chooſe, is to will one thing before another; and to will, is to bend our ſouls to the having or doing of that which they ſee to be good. Goodneſs is ſeen with the eye of the underſtanding, and the light of that eye is reaſon. So that two principal fountains there are of human action, Knowledge and Will; which Will, in things tending towards any end, is termed *choice*. Concerning Knowledge; *Behold*, ſaith Moſes, *I have ſet before you this day good and evil, life and death.* Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend unto life, them chooſe. But of one thing we muſt have ſpecial care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, how the Will, properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural deſire which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is whatſoever ſenſible good may be wiſhed for; the object of Will is that good which Reaſon doth lead us to ſeek. Affections, as joy, and grief, and fear, and anger, with ſuch like, being as it were the ſundry faſhions and forms of Appetite, can neither riſe at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with affections or no. Whereas actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the Will, are in the power thereof to be performed or ſtayed. Finally, Appetite is the Will's ſolicitor, and the Will is Appetite's controller; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject. Neither is any other deſire termed properly Will, but that where Reaſon and underſtanding, or the ſhew of Reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, whether thoſe operations of men are to be counted voluntary, [illegible] that good which is ſenſible prove[illegible] and Appetite cauſeth action, Reaſ[illegible] called to counſel; as when

Deut. xxx. 19.

we

we eat or drink, and betake ourſelves unto reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in men, having attained to the uſe of Reaſon, are voluntary: for as the authority of higher powers hath force even in thoſe things which are done without their privity, and are of ſo mean reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: in like ſort, voluntarily we are ſaid to do that alſo, which the Will, if it liſted, might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof we do not expreſsly uſe our Reaſon or underſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our Wills thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facility, the Will doth yield her aſſent, as it were, with a kind of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect her force is not ſo apparent as in expreſs mandates or prohibition, eſpecially upon advice and conſultation going before. Where underſtanding therefore needeth, in thoſe things Reaſon is the director of man's Will, by diſcovering in action what is good. For Laws of well-doing are the dictates of right Reaſon. Children which are not as yet come unto thoſe years whereat they may have; again, innocents which are excluded by natural defect from ever having; thirdly, madmen, which for the preſent cannot poſſibly have the uſe of right Reaſon to guide themſelves, have for their guide the Reaſon that guideth other men, which are tutors over them to ſeek and procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that light of Reaſon, whereby good may be known from evil; and which diſcovering the ſame rightly is termed right. The Will, notwithſtanding, doth not incline to have or do that which Reaſon teacheth to be good, unleſs the ſame do alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the Appetite, being more general, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, be it never ſo impoſſible[a]; yet for ſuch things the reaſonable Will of man doth

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[a] *O mihi præteritos referat ſi Juppiter annos!*

never

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never ſeek. Let Reaſon teach impoſſibility in any thing, and the Will of man doth let it go; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibility thereof being manifeſt. There is in the Will of man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular object whatſoever being preſented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object ſo good but it may have the ſhew of ſome difficulty or unpleaſant quality annexed to it, in reſpect whereof, the Will may ſhrink and decline it; contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſs whereby to inſinuate itſelf. For evil, as evil, cannot be deſired[a]; if that be deſired which is evil, the cauſe is the goodneſs which is or ſeemeth to be joined with it. Goodneſs doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected which are moſt precious, only becauſe the value of them lieth hid. Senſible Goodneſs is moſt apparent, near, and preſent, which cauſeth the Appetite to be therewith ſtrongly provoked. Now purſuit and refuſal in the Will do follow, the one the affirmation, the other the negation of goodneſs, which the underſtanding apprehendeth, grounding itſelf upon ſenſe, unleſs ſome higher Reaſon do chance to teach the contrary. And if Reaſon have taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparently that the mind receiveth it with utter impoſſibility of being otherwiſe, ſtill there is place left for the Will to take or leave. Whereas therefore among all [illegible] things as are to be done there are ſo few, the goodneſs whereof Reaſon in ſuch ſort doth or can discover, we are not to marvel at the choice [illegible] then when the contrary is

[a] Εἰ δ[illegible]. πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, [illegible] Paulo poſt. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷν ἐπὶ κακὰ βελ[illegible] Alcin. de [illegible] ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῷ, ὅτι φύσῃ μείζονι κακοῦ.

probably

probably known. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that cuſtom, inuring the mind by long practice, and ſo leaving there a ſenſible impreſſion, prevaileth more than reaſonable perſuaſion what way ſoever. Reaſon therefore may rightly diſcern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of man not incline itſelf thereunto as oft as the prejudice of ſenſible experience doth over-ſway. Nor let any man think, that this doth make any thing for the juſt excuſe of iniquity; for there was never ſin committed wherein a leſs good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of Nature, and the utter diſturbance of that divine order, whereby the pre-eminence of chiefeſt acceptation is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for itſelf, if Reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through the neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſometimes the ſubtilty of Satan inveigling us, as it did Eve; ſometimes the haſtineſs of our Wills preventing the more conſiderate advice of ſound Reaſon, as in the Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from heaven; ſometimes the very cuſtom of evil making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoever inſtructions to the contrary, as in them over whom our Saviour ſpake weeping, *O Jeruſalem, how often, and thou wouldeſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, in doing evil we prefer a leſs good before a greater, the greatneſs whereof is by Reaſon inveſtigable and may be known. The ſearch of knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulneſs of knowledge is that which maketh the Will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The root hereof is divine malediction; whereby the [a] inſtruments being weakened wherewithal

2 Cor. xi. 3.

Luke ix. 54.

Mat. xxiii. 37.

[a] Wiſd. ix. 15, 16. *A corruptible body is heavy unto the ſoul, and the earthly manſion keepeth down the mind that is full of cares.*

And

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the ſoul (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth work, it preferreth reſt in ignorance before wearifome labour to know. For a ſpur of diligence therefore, we have a natural thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by reaſon of that original weakneſs in the inſtruments, without which the underſtanding part is not able in this world by diſcourſe to work, the very conceit of painfulneſs is as a bridle to ſtay us. For which cauſe the Apoſtle, who knew right well that the wearineſs of the fleſh is an heavy clog to the Will, ſtriketh mightily upon this key, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, caſt off all which preſſeth down; watch, labour, ſtrive to go forward and to grow in knowledge.*

Eph. v. 14. Heb. xii. 1, 12. 1 Cor. xvi. 13. Prov. ii. 4. Luke xiii. 24.

Of the natural way of finding out Laws by Reaſon to guide the Will unto that which is good.

8. Wherefore to return to our former intent of diſcovering the natural way, whereby rules have been found out concerning that goodneſs wherewith the Will of Man ought to be moved in human actions; as every thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the utmoſt good and greateſt perfection, whereof Nature hath made it capable, even ſo Man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and covet it. All particular things which are ſubject unto action, the Will doth ſo far forth incline unto, as Reaſon judgeth them the better for us, and conſequently the more available to our bliſs. If Reaſon err, we fall into evil, and are ſo far forth deprived of the [illegible] Seeing therefore, that for the [illegible] ons the knowledge of good [illegible] only reſteth, that we ſearch [illegible] Neither muſt we ſuppoſe [illegible] one rule to know the good, [illegible] For he that knoweth [illegible] thereby diſcern

And hardly [illegible] earth, and with great labour [illegible] us. Who then can ſeek out [illegible]

[a] Τῷ εὖ [illegible] κριτὴς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ χαίων. [illegible]

what

what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraightneſs in bodies capable thereof is crookedneſs. Goodneſs in actions is like unto ſtraightneſs; wherefore that which is done well, we term *right*. For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that travelleth, becauſe by it he cometh ſooneſt to his journey's end; ſo that in action, which doth lie the eveneſt between us and the end we deſire, muſt needs be the fitteſt for our uſe. Beſides which fitneſs for uſe, there is alſo in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the actions of men, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration the Grecians moſt divinely have given to the active perfection of men a name expreſſing both beauty and goodneſs; becauſe goodneſs in ordinary ſpeech is for the moſt part applied only to that which is beneficial. But we in the name of goodneſs do here imply both. And of diſcerning goodneſs, there are but theſe two ways; the one, the knowledge of the cauſes whereby it is made ſuch; the other, the obſervation of thoſe ſigns and tokens, which, being annexed always unto goodneſs, argue, that where they are found, there alſo goodneſs is, although we know not the cauſe by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard that all ſhun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark by hap-hazard, than tread ſo long and intricate mazes for knowledge ſake. As therefore phyſicians are many times forced to leave ſuch methods of curing as themſelves know to be the fitteſt, and being over-ruled by their patients' impatience are fain to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure which the cured will yield unto; in like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent age full of tongue and weak of brain, behold we yield to the ſtream thereof; into the cauſes of goodneſs we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and

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Καλοκαγαθία.

BOOK I. then it ſhall be ſufficient, when they are ſo near at hand that eaſily they may be conceived without any far removed diſcourſe: that way we are contented to prove, which being the worſe in itſelf, is notwithſtanding now, by reaſon of common imbecility, the fitter and likelier to be brooked. Signs and tokens to know good by are of ſundry kinds; ſome more certain, and ſome leſs. The moſt certain token of evident goodneſs is, if the general perſuaſion of all men do ſo account it. And therefore a common received error is never utterly overthrown, till ſuch times as we go from ſigns unto cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt root or fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to paſs that ſo many have been overſeen. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſlight probabilities will not ſerve, becauſe the univerſal conſent of men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind, which comprehendeth only the ſigns and tokens of goodneſs. Things caſual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of, cannot ſtill have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cauſe, yet thus much we may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoever the judgments of all men generally, or for the moſt part, run one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of natural diſcourſe: for of things neceſſarily and naturally done, there is no more affirmed but this, [a] *They keep either always, or for the moſt part, one tenure.* The general and perpetual voice of men is as the ſentence of God himſelf. [b] For that which all men have at all times

[a] Ἡ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ. Ariſt. Rhet. l. i.

[b] Non poteſt ... idem opinantur. Monticat. in 1. Polit. ... individuis unius ſpeciei communiter ... habeat oportet, quæ eſt eorum individu... *Idem.* Quod a tota aliqua ſpecie ſit, ... ue naturæ ſit inſtinctu. Ficin. de Chriſt. Rel. ..., primo firme id verum puta quod ſana ... attollatur. Cuſa. in Compend. cap. 1. Non licet ... ſalſique hominum judicium fallum

learned, Nature herſelf muſt needs have taught; and God being the author of Nature, her voice is but his inſtrument. By her, from him, we receive whatſoever in ſuch ſort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodneſs whereof is by this rule ſufficiently manifeſted, although we had no other warrant beſides to approve them. The Apoſtle St. Paul having ſpeech concerning the Heathen, ſaith of them, *They are a law unto themſelves.* His meaning is, that by force of the light of Reaſon, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the world, men being enabled to know truth from falſehood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the will of God is; which will himſelf not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural diſcourſe attaining the knowledge thereof, ſeem the makers of thoſe Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out. A Law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodneſs of operation. The rule of divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wiſdom ſet down within himſelf. The rule of natural agents that work by ſimple neceſſity, is the determination of the wiſdom of God, known to God himſelf, the principal Director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the ſame. The rule of natural agents which work after a ſort of their own accord, as the beaſts do, is the judgment of common ſenſe or fancy concerning the ſenſible goodneſs of thoſe objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghoſtly and immaterial natures, as Spirits and Angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high goodneſs of that object which with unſpeakable joy and delight doth

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Rom. ii. 14.

falſum vanumque exiſtimare. Teleſ. Ὁ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. Ὁ δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταυτην τὴν πίστιν οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. Ariſt. Eth. lib. x. cap. 2.

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ſet them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth, is the ſentence that Reaſon giveth concerning the goodneſs of thoſe things which they are to do. And the ſentences which Reaſon giveth are ſome more, ſome leſs general, before it come to define in particular actions what is good. The main principles of Reaſon are in themſelves apparent. For to make nothing evident of itſelf unto man's underſtanding, were to take away all poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of Theophraſtus is true, [a] *They that ſeek a reaſon of all things, do utterly overthrow Reaſon.* In every kind of knowledge ſome ſuch grounds there are, as that being propoſed, the mind doth preſently embrace them as free from all poſſibility of error, clear and manifeſt without proof. In which kind, axioms or principles more general, are ſuch as this, *That the greater good is to be choſen before the leſs.* If therefore it ſhould be demanded, what reaſon there is why the will of man, which doth neceſſarily ſhun harm and covet whatſoever is pleaſant and ſweet, ſhould be commanded to count the pleaſures of ſin gall; and notwithſtanding the bitter accidents wherewith virtuous actions are compaſſed, yet ſtill to rejoice and delight in them: ſurely this could never ſtand with Reaſon; but that Wiſdom thus preſcribing groundeth her Laws upon an infallible rule of compariſon, which is, That ſmall difficulties, when [illegible] great good is ſure to enſue; and on the other ſide momentary benefits, when the hurt which they draw after them is unſpeakable, are [illegible]. This rule is the [illegible] of the Apoſtle [illegible] unto himſelf, *The* [illegible] *worketh unto us, even with* [illegible] *abundance, an eternal weight of glory* [illegible] *not on the things which are ſeen, but on* [illegible] *which are not ſeen: for the*

2 Cor. iv. 17.

[a] Ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. Theoph. in Metaph.

things

things which are ſeen are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen are eternal: therefore Chriſtianity to be embraced, whatſoever calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withal. Upon the ſame ground our Saviour proveth the Law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes which men for gain ſake fall into. For a man to win the world, if it be with the loſs of his ſoul, what benefit or good is it? Matth. xvi. 26.

Axioms leſs general, yet ſo manifeſt that they need no farther proof, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped; Parents to be honoured; Others to be uſed by us, as we ourſelves would be by them.* Such things, as ſoon as they are alleged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodneſs. Notwithſtanding whatſoever ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawn from out of the very bowels of heaven and earth. For we are to note, that things in the world are to us diſcernible, not only ſo far forth as ſerveth for our vital preſervation, but further alſo in a twofold higher reſpect. For firſt, if all other uſes were utterly taken away, yet the mind of man being by nature ſpeculative and delighted with contemplation in itſelf, they were to be known even for mere knowledge and underſtanding's ſake. Yea further beſides this, the knowledge of every the leaſt thing in the world, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit unto us, inaſmuch as it ſerveth to miniſter rules, Canons, and Laws for men to direct thoſe actions by, which we properly term human. This did the very Heathens themſelves obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *Jus*, or Right, to be the Daughter of Heaven and Earth. We know things either as they are in themſelves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which man is in reference unto himſelf, and other things in relation unto man, I may juſtly term the Mother of all thoſe principles, which are as it were Edicts,

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Statutes, and Decrees in that Law of Nature, whereby human actions are framed. First therefore, having obſerved that the beſt things, where they are not hindered, do ſtill produce the beſt operations; (for which cauſe, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the beſt is in all congruity of Reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it prevailing moſt, the work principally done by it may have greateſt perfection;) when hereupon we come to obſerve in ourſelves, of what excellency our Souls are, in compariſon of our bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baſer of our Souls; ſeeing that all theſe concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well, unleſs the chiefeſt do command and direct the reſt. The Soul then ought to conduct the body; and the Spirit of our minds, the Soul. This is therefore the firſt Law, whereby the higheſt power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it unto action. Touching the ſeveral grand mandates, which, being impoſed by the underſtanding faculty of the mind, muſt be obeyed by the will of man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our duty towards God or towards Man. Touching the one, I may not here ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the minds, even of mere natural men, have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but alſo what power, force, wiſdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore [illegible] known relation which [illegible] children, and unto all [illegible], whereof himſelf is the [illegible] axioms and Laws natural [illegible]. [c] *That*

Arist. Polit. l. cap. 5.

[a] Οὐδὶς Θιὸς [illegible].

[b] Ὅτι γὰρ Θι[illegible] Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 2.

[c] Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτό γε δὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετίχουσιν,

in all things we go about, his aid is by prayer to be craved: [a] *That he cannot have sufficient honour done unto him, but the uttermost of that we can do to honour him, we must;* which is in effect the same that we read, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.* Deut. vi. 5. Which Law our Saviour doth term, *The first, and the great commandment.* Matt. xxii. 38. Touching the next, which, as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this, (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, in as much as it is the root out of which all Laws of duty to men-ward have grown, as out of the former all offices of religion towards God,) the like natural inducement hath brought men to know that it is their duty no less to love others than themselves. For seeing those things which are equal must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every man's hand as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless myself be careful to satisfy the like desire which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same nature? To have any thing offered to them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: so that if I do harm, I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, than they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between ourselves, and them that are as ourselves, what several rules and Canons natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life no man is ignorant; as namely, [b] *That because*

μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ πράγματος θεὸν ἀεί πῳ καλοῦσι. Plat. in Tim.

[a] Arist. Ethic. lib. viii. cap. ult.

[b] Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. Lib. in

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we would take no harm, we muſt therefore do none; That ſith we would not be in any thing extremely dealt with, we muſt ourſelves avoid all extremity in our dealings; That from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abſtain; with ſuch like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our preſent purpoſe not altogether ſo neceſſary, ſeeing that on theſe two general heads already mentioned all other ſpecialities are dependent [b]. Wherefore the natural meaſure whereby to judge our doings, is the ſentence of Reaſon determining and ſetting down what is good to be done. Which ſentence is either mandatory, ſhewing what muſt be done; or elſe permiſſive, declaring only what may be done; or, thirdly, admonitory, opening what is the moſt convenient for us to do. The firſt taketh place where the compariſon doth ſtand altogether between doing and not doing of one thing, which in itſelf is abſolutely good or evil; as it had been for Joſeph to yield or not to yield to the impotent deſire of his lewd miſtreſs, the one evil, the other good ſimply. The ſecond is when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one, ſaving only in caſe of ſo great urgency, were not otherwiſe to be taken; as in the matter of divorce amongſt the Jews. The laſt, when of divers things good, one is principal and moſt eminent; as in their act who ſold their poſſeſſions, and laid the price at the Apoſtles' feet; which poſſeſſions they might have retained unto [illegible] again, in the Apoſtle St. Paul's [illegible] himſelf by his own [illegible] by the Church's maint[illegible] had been

Gen. xxxix. 9.

Mark x. 4.

Acts iv. 37. and v. 4.

2 Theſſ. iii. 8.

in arenam C. de inof[illegible] ſtatuerit, ipſum quoque eod[illegible] quod quiſque. Ab omni penitus injuria atque [illegible]. Lib. i. ſect. 1. Quod vi, aut clam.

[b] Matth. xxii. 40. On theſe two Commandments hangeth the whole Law.

no

no offence committed. In goodneſs therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to paſs, that even of good actions ſome are better than other ſome; whereas otherwiſe one man could not excel another, but all ſhould be either abſolutely good, as hitting jump that indiviſible point or centre wherein goodneſs conſiſteth; or elſe miſſing it, they ſhould be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the ſeldomneſs and oftenneſs of doing well. But the nature of goodneſs being thus ample, a Law is properly that which reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to be good that it muſt be done. And the Law of Reaſon or human Nature is that which men by diſcourſe of natural Reaſon have rightly found out themſelves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. Laws of Reaſon have theſe marks to be known by: ſuch as keep them reſemble moſt lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working which Nature herſelf doth neceſſarily obſerve in the courſe of the whole world. The works of Nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without ſuperfluity or defect; even ſo theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reaſon teacheth. Secondly, Thoſe Laws are inveſtigable by Reaſon, without the help of Revelation ſupernatural and divine. Finally, In ſuch ſort they are inveſtigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the world hath always been acquainted with them; according to that which one in Sophocles obſerveth, concerning a branch of this Law: [a] *It is no child of to-day's or yeſterday's birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all. Which we may not ſo underſtand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confeſs whatſoever the Law of Reaſon

[a] Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
ζῇ τοῦτο, κ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φανῇ. Soph. Ant.

doth

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doth contain: but this Law is ſuch, that being propoſed, no man can reject it as unreaſonable and unjuſt: Again, there is nothing in it, but any man (having natural perfection of wit, and ripeneſs of judgment) may by labour and travail find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſy to find men ignorant of them. Law rational therefore, which men commonly uſe to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which human Nature knoweth itſelf in reaſon univerſally bound unto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed, moſt fitly, the Law of Reaſon; this Law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe things which men by the light of their natural underſtanding evidently know, or at leaſtwiſe may know, to be beſeeming or unbeſeeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do. Now although it be true, which ſome have ſaid, that whatſoever is done amiſs, the Law of Nature and Reaſon thereby is tranſgreſſed, becauſe even thoſe offences which are by their ſpecial qualities breaches of ſupernatural Laws, do alſo, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reaſon[a], which willeth univerſally to fly from evil; yet do we not therefore ſo far extend the Law of Reaſon, as to contain in it all manner of Laws whereunto reaſonable creatures are bound, but (as hath been ſhewed) we reſtrain it to thoſe only duties, which all men by force of natural wit either do, or might underſtand to be ſuch duties as concern all men. *Certain half-waking men* [illegible] St. Auguſtine noteth,) *who* [illegible] *altogether* [illegible] *fully, nor yet throughly* [illegible] *have thought that* [illegible] *any* [illegible] *righteous in itſelf; but* [illegible] *nations* [illegible] *inured, the ſame they take to be* [illegible] *juſt. Whereupon their*

De Doctr. Chriſt. lib. iii. cap. 14.

[a] Th. 1. 2. q. 94. art. 5. Omnia peccata ſunt in univerſum contra rationem et naturæ legem. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. xii. cap. 1. Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt.

concluſion

concluſion is, That ſeeing each ſort of people hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of its own nature, muſt be every where one and the ſame; therefore in itſelf there is nothing right. Theſe good folks (ſaith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with the rehearſal of too many things*) *have not looked ſo far into the world as to perceive that,* Do as thou wouldſt be done unto, *is a ſentence which all nations under heaven are agreed upon. Refer this ſentence to the love of God, and it extinguiſheth all heinous crimes: refer it to the love of thy Neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it baniſheth out of the world.* Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reaſon, this was (it ſeemeth) St. Auguſtine's judgment; namely, that there are in it ſome things which ſtand as principles univerſally agreed upon; and that out of thoſe principles which are in themſelves evident, the greateſt moral duties we owe towards God and Man may without any great difficulty be concluded. If then it be here demanded by what means it ſhould come to paſs (the greateſt part of the Law moral being ſo eaſy for all men to know) that ſo many thouſands of men notwithſtanding have been ignorant, even of principal moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be ſin; I deny not but lewd and wicked cuſtom, beginning perhaps at the firſt amongſt few, afterwards ſpreading into greater multitudes, and ſo continuing from time to time, may be of force even in things [illegible], to ſmother the light of natural [illegible], becauſe men will not bend their wits to [illegible] things wherewith they have been accuſtomed to be pleaſed or evil. For example ſake, that groſſer kind of heathenish Idolatry, whereby they worſhipped the very works of their own hands, was an abſurdity to Reaſon ſo palpable, that the Prophet David, comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almoſt no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and ſenſe as the other; *They that make them are like unto them,* Pſal. cxxxv. *and* 18.

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and ſo are all that truſt in them. That wherein an Idolater doth ſeem ſo abſurd and fooliſh, is by the Wiſe man thus expreſſed, *He is not aſhamed to ſpeak unto that which hath no life: he calleth on him that is weak for health: he prayeth for life unto him which is dead: of him which hath no experience, he requireth help: for his journey he ſueth to him which is not able to go: for gain, and work, and ſucceſs in his affairs, he ſeeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cauſe of which ſenſeleſs ſtupidity is afterwards imputed to cuſtom. *When a father mourneth grievouſly for his ſon that was taken away ſuddenly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worſhippeth as a god, ordaining to his ſervants ceremonies and ſacrifices. Thus by proceſs of time this wicked cuſtom prevailed, and was kept as a law*; the authority of rulers, the ambition of craftſmen, and ſuch like means, thruſting forward the ignorant, and increaſing their ſuperſtition. Unto this which the Wiſe man hath ſpoken ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoever we may have hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, concerning the force of man's natural underſtanding, this we always deſire withal to be underſtood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it without perpetual aid and concurrence of that ſupreme cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof as oft as we cauſe God in his juſtice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow than that which the Apoſtle noteth, even men endued with the light of Reaſon, to walk notwithſtanding *in the vanity of their mind, having their [illegible] being ſtrangers from the life of God, [illegible] which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet Iſaiah, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſs iniquity and ſin; they have not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as

Wiſd. xiii. 17.

Wiſd. xiv. 15, 16.

Epheſ. iv. 17, 18.

as to think, *Shall I bow to the ſtock of a tree? All knowledge and underſtanding is taken from them; for God hath ſhut their eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this caſe of Idolatry ſerveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of general blindneſs hath prevailed againſt the manifeſt Laws of Reaſon. Within the compaſs of which Laws we do not only comprehend whatſoever may eaſily be known to belong to the duty of all men, but even whatſoever may poſſibly be known to be of that quality, ſo that the ſame be by neceſſary conſequence deduced out of clear and manifeſt principles. For if once we deſcend unto probable collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the territory where free and arbitrary determinations, the territory where human Laws take place, which Laws are after to be conſidered.

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Iſa. xliv. 18, 19.

9. Now the due obſervation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth us cannot but be effectual unto their great good that obſerve the ſame. For we ſee the whole world and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preſerveth both other things, and alſo itſelf. Contrariwiſe, let any principal thing, as the ſun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once ceaſe, or fail, or ſwerve, and who doth not eaſily conceive that the ſequel thereof would be ruin both to itſelf and whatſoever dependeth on it? And is it poſſible, that Man being not only the nobleſt creature in the world, but even a very world in himſelf, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harm after it? Yes, *Tribulation and anguiſh unto every ſoul that doth evil.* Good doth follow unto all things by obſerving the courſe of their nature, and on the contrary ſide evil by not obſerving it; but not unto natural agents that good which we call reward, not that evil which we properly term puniſhment. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt

The benefit of keeping that Law which Reaſon teacheth.

Rom. ii. 9.

BOOK I. amongſt creatures in this world, only man's obſervation of the Law of his Nature is Righteouſneſs, only man's tranſgreſſion Sin. And the reaſon of this is, the difference in his manner of obſerving or tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwiſe than voluntarily the one or the other. What we do againſt our wills, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to do it, becauſe the motive cauſe of doing it is not in ourſelves, but carrieth us (as if the wind ſhould drive a feather in the air) we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In ſuch caſes therefore the evil which is done moveth compaſſion. Men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect than culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their wills; as in alienation of mind, or any the like inevitable utter abſence of wit and judgment. For which cauſe, no man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious men and innocents to be puniſhable. Again, ſome things we do neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and merely with our wills, but with our wills in ſuch ſort moved, that albeit there be no impoſſibility but that we might, nevertheleſs we are not ſo eaſily able to do otherwiſe. In this conſideration, one evil deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the difficulty of doing otherwiſe, is greater: unleſs this neceſſity or difficulty have originally grown from ourſelves. It is no excuſe therefore unto him that being drunk committeth inceſt, and alleggeth that his wits were not his own; inaſmuch as himſelf might have choſen, whether his wits ſhould by that means have been taken from him. Now rewards and puniſhments do always preſuppoſe ſomething willingly done well or ill; without which reſpect, though we may ſometimes receive good

good or harm, yet then the one is only a benefit and not a reward, the other ſimply an hurt not a puniſhment. From the ſundry diſpoſitions of man's will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the ſequel of rewards and puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: [a] *Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like rules, men's actions are determined of and judged, whether they be in their own nature rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and puniſhments are not received, but at the hands of ſuch as being above us have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in external actions, we ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this preſent ſo much all do acknowledge, that ſith every man's heart and conſcience doth in good or evil, even ſecretly committed and known to none but itſelf, either like or diſallow itſelf, and accordingly either rejoice, very Nature exulting, as it were, in certain hope of reward, or elſe grieve, as it were, in a ſenſe of future puniſhment; neither of which can in this caſe be looked for from any other, ſaving only from him who diſcerneth and judgeth the very ſecrets of all hearts: therefore he is the only rewarder and revenger of all ſuch actions; although not of ſuch actions only, but of all, whereby the Law of Nature is broken whereof himſelf is author. For which cauſe, the Roman Laws, called The Laws of the Twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of man cannot reach into, threaten the

[a] Voluntate ſublata, omnem actum parem eſſe. lib. fœdiſſimam c. de adult. Bonam voluntatem plerumque pro facto reputari. l. ſi quis in Teſtament.

neglecters

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neglecters of them with none but divine puniſhment [a].

How Reaſon doth lead men unto the making of human Laws, whereby politic Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws whereby the fellowſhip or communion of independent Society ſtandeth.

10. That which hitherto we have ſet down, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhew their brutiſhneſs, which imagine that Religion and Virtue are only as men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto ourſelves, and that in nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We ſee then how Nature itſelf teacheth Laws and Statutes to live by. [b] The Laws, which have been hitherto mentioned, do bind men abſolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any ſettled fellowſhip, never any ſolemn agreement amongſt themſelves what to do, or not to do. But foraſmuch as we are not by ourſelves ſufficient to furniſh ourſelves with competent ſtore of things needful for ſuch a life as our nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignity of man; therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections which are in us living ſingle and ſolely by ourſelves, we are naturally induced to ſeek communion and fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of men's uniting themſelves at the firſt in politic ſocieties, which ſocieties could not be without government, nor government without a diſtinct kind of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two foundations there are which bear up public ſocieties; the one, a natural inclination whereby all men deſire ſociable life and fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſsly or ſecretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonweal, the very ſoul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by

[a] Divos caſte adeunto, pietatem adhibento: qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit.

[b] Ἔτι γὰρ ὁ μαντεύονταί τι πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. Ariſt. Rhet. 1.

Law

Law animated, held together, and ſet on work in ſuch actions as the common good requireth. Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment amongſt men, are never framed as they ſhould be, unleſs preſuming the will of man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, and averſe from all obedience unto the ſacred Laws of his Nature: in a word, unleſs preſuming man to be in regard of his depraved mind little better than a wild beaſt, they do accordingly provide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good for which ſocieties are inſtituted; unleſs they do this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therefore, that we conſider how Nature findeth out ſuch Laws of government as ſerve to direct even Nature depraved to a right end. All men deſire to lead in this world an happy life: that life is led moſt happily, wherein all virtue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting men to contentment, although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to underſtand, that thoſe are even the loweſt of things neceſſary; that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as till it be removed ſuffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care. For this cauſe firſt God aſſigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a Law to obſerve: for this cauſe after men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we read they gave themſelves unto was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this means whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their religion. True it is, that the kingdom of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But inaſmuch as a righteous life preſuppoſeth life; inaſmuch as to live virtuouſly it is impoſſible except we live; therefore the firſt impediment which

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1 Tim. vi. 8.

Gen. i. 29. and ii. 17. and iv. 2, 26.

Matt. vi. 33.

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naturally we endeavour to remove is penury and want of things without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are neceſſary; more if we ſeek (as all men naturally do) ſuch a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry arts mechanical were found out in the very prime of the world. As things of greateſt neceſſity are always firſt provided for, ſo things of greateſt dignity are moſt accounted of by all ſuch as judge rightly. Although therefore riches be a thing which every man wiſheth, yet no man of judgment can eſteem it better to be rich, than wiſe, virtuous, and religious. If we be both, or either of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo born: for into the world we come as empty of the one as of the other, as naked in mind as we are in body. Both which neceſſities of man had at the firſt no other helps and ſupplies than only domeſtical; ſuch as that which the Prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a mother forget her child?* ſuch as that which the Apoſtle mentioneth, ſaying, *He that careth not for his own is worſe than an infidel:* ſuch as that concerning Abraham, *Abraham will command his ſons and his houſehold after him, that they keep the way of the Lord.* But neither that which we learn of ourſelves, nor that which others teach us, can prevail, where wickedneſs and malice have taken deep root. If therefore, when there was but as yet one only family in the world, no means of inſtruction, human or divine, could prevent effuſion of blood; how could it be choſen, but that when families were multiplied and increaſed upon earth, after ſeparation, each providing for itſelf, envy, [illegible] and violence, muſt grow amongſt [illegible] hath not Nature furniſhed man with wit [illegible] armour, as it were, with armour, which may be uſed as well unto extreme evil as good? Yea, were they not uſed by the reſt of the world unto evil? Unto the contrary only by Seth, Enoch, and thoſe few the reſt in that line?

Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22.

Iſa. xlix. 15.

1 Tim. v. 8.

Gen. xviii. 19.

Gen. vi 5. Gen. v.

We

We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times, not unjuſtly, for the days are evil: but compare them with thoſe times wherein there were no civil ſocieties, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe times wherein there were not above eight righteous perſons living upon the face of the earth; and we have ſurely good cauſe to think that God hath bleſſed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold moſt happy days. To take away all ſuch mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto compoſition and agreement amongſt themſelves, by ordaining ſome kind of government public, and by yielding themſelves ſubject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule or govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy eſtate of the reſt might be procured. Men always knew, that when force and injury was offered, they might be defenders of themſelves; they knew that howſoever men may ſeek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others, it was not to be ſuffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withſtood; finally, they knew that no man might in reaſon take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inaſmuch as every man is towards himſelf, and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial: and therefore that ſtriſes and troubles would be endleſs, except they gave their common conſent all to be ordered by ſome whom they ſhould agree upon. Without which conſent there were no reaſon that one man ſhould take upon him to be lord or judge over another; becauſe, although there be, according to the opinion of ſome very great and judicious men, a kind of natural right in the noble, wiſe, and virtuous, to govern them which are of ſervile diſpoſition; nevertheleſs, for manifeſtation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both

2 Pet. ii. 5.

Ariſt. Polit. lib. iii. et iv.

BOOK I. both ſides, the aſſent of them who are to be governed ſeemeth neceſſary. To Fathers within their private families, Nature hath given a ſupreme power; for which cauſe we ſee throughout the world, even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houſes. Howbeit, over a whole grand multitude, having no ſuch dependency upon any one, and conſiſting of ſo many families as every politic ſociety in the world doth; impoſſible it is that any ſhould have complete lawful power but by conſent of men, or immediate appointment of God; becauſe not having the natural ſuperiority of fathers, their power muſt needs be either uſurped, and then unlawful; or if lawful, then either granted or conſented unto by them over whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is ſubject. It is no improbable opinion there-
Ariſt. Polit. lib. i. cap. 3. fore which the arch-philoſopher was of, that as the chiefeſt perſon in every houſehold was always as
Vide et Platonem in iii. de Legious. it were a king, ſo when numbers of houſeholds joined themſelves in civil ſocieties together, Kings were the firſt kind of governors amongſt them. Which is alſo (as it ſeemeth) the reaſon why the name of Father continued ſtill in them, who of fathers were made rulers; as alſo the ancient cuſtom of governors to do as Melchiſedeck, and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion: howbeit, this is not the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of one kind have cauſed ſundry other to be deviſed. So that, in a word, all public regiment, of what kind ſoever, ſeemeth evidently to have riſen from deliberate advice, conſultation, and compoſition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impoſſibility in Nature conſidered by itſelf, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption

ruption of our nature being preſuppoſed, we may not deny, but that the Law of Nature doth now require of neceſſity ſome kind of regiment; ſo that to bring things unto the firſt courſe they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of public government in the world, were apparently to overturn the whole world. The caſe of man's nature ſtanding therefore as it doth, ſome kind of regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt, when ſome certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their wiſdom and diſcretion which were to rule [a]; till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, ſo as the thing which they had deviſed for a remedy did indeed but increaſe the ſore which it ſhould have cured. They ſaw that to live by one man's will became the cauſe of all men's miſery. This conſtrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all men might ſee their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. [b] If things be ſimply good or evil, and withal univerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by Laws human containeth whatſoever being in itſelf naturally good or evil, is not-

[a] Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem; qui cum prohiberet injuria tenuiores, æquitate conſtituenda ſummos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingeret, leges ſunt inventæ. Cic. Offic. lib. 2. Τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐν προστάτου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. Ariſt. Rhet. ad Alex.

[b] Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, ut et ignorantiam protelet in occaſionem, et conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationem. Tertul. lib. de Spectacul.

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withſtanding more ſecret than that it can be diſcerned by every man's preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and judgment. In which diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficulty and poſſibility many ways to err, unleſs ſuch things were ſet down by Laws, many would be ignorant of their duties, which now are not; and many that know what they ſhould do, would nevertheleſs diſſemble it, and to excuſe themſelves pretend ignorance and ſimplicity, which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of men are ſuch as prefer their own private good before all things; even that good which is ſenſual before whatſoever is moſt divine: and for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make men for the moſt part ſlower to the one and proner to the other, than that duty preſcribed them by Law can prevail ſufficiently with them: therefore unto Laws that men do make for the benefit of men, it hath ſeemed always needful to add rewards, which may more allure unto good than any hardneſs deterreth from it; and puniſhments, which may more deter from evil than any ſweetneſs thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is natural, *virtue rewardable, and vice puniſhable*; ſo the particular determination of the reward and puniſhment belongeth unto them by whom Laws are made. Theft is naturally puniſhable, but the kind of puniſhment is poſitive; and ſuch lawful as men ſhall think with diſcretion convenient by Law to appoint. In Laws, that which is natural bindeth univerſally; that which is poſitive, not ſo. To let go thoſe poſitive kind of Laws which men impoſe upon themſelves, as by vow unto God, contract with men, or ſuch like; ſomewhat it will make unto our purpoſe, a little more fully to conſider what things are incident unto the making of the poſitive Laws for the government of them that live united in public ſociety. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain conſtraining

ſtraining force; and to conſtrain men unto any thing inconvenient, doth ſeem unreaſonable. Moſt requiſite therefore it is, that to deviſe Laws which all men ſhall be forced to obey, none but wiſe men be admitted. Laws are matters of principal conſequence; men of common capacity, and but ordinary judgment, are not able (for how ſhould they?) to diſcern what things are fitteſt for each kind and ſtate of regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto Laws dependeth upon this point. Let a man, though never ſo juſtly, oppoſe himſelf unto them that are diſordered in their ways, and what one among them commonly doth not ſtomach at ſuch contradiction, ſtorm at reproof, and hate ſuch as would reform them? Notwithſtanding, even they which brook it worſt that men ſhould tell them of their duties, when they are told the ſame by a Law think very well and reaſonably of it. For why? They preſume that the Law doth ſpeak with all indifferency; that the Law hath no ſide reſpect to their perſons; that the Law is as it were an oracle proceeding from wiſdom and underſtanding. Howbeit, Laws do not take their conſtraining force from the quality of ſuch as deviſe them, but from that power which doth give them the ſtrength of Laws. That which we ſpake before concerning the power of government, muſt here be applied unto the power of making Laws whereby to govern, which power God hath over all; and by the natural Law, whereunto he hath made all ſubject, the lawful power of making Laws to command whole politic ſocieties of men belongeth ſo properly unto the ſame entire ſocieties, that for any Prince or Potentate of what kind ſoever upon earth to exerciſe the ſame of himſelf, and not either by expreſs commiſſion immediately and perſonally received from God, or elſe by authority derived at the firſt from their conſent upon whoſe perſons they impoſe Laws, it is no better than mere tyranny. Laws they are not there-

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BOOK I. fore which public approbation hath not made ſo. But approbation not only they give who perſonally declare their aſſent by voice, ſign, or act; but alſo when others do it in their names, by right originally, at the leaſt, derived from them. As in Parliaments, Councils, and the like aſſemblies, although we be not perſonally ourſelves preſent, notwithſtanding our aſſent is by reaſon of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our deed, no leſs effectually to bind us than if ourſelves had done it in perſon. In many things aſſent is given, they that give it not imagining they do ſo, becauſe the manner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monarch commandeth his ſubjects that which ſeemeth good in his own diſcretion; hath not his Edict the force of a Law whether they approve or diſlike it? Again, that which hath been received long ſithence, and is by cuſtom now eſtabliſhed, we keep as a Law which we may not tranſgreſs; yet what conſent was ever thereunto ſought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that ſith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men; therefore, utterly without our conſent, we could in ſuch ſort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do conſent, when that ſociety whereof we are part hath at any time before conſented, without revoking the ſame after by the like univerſal agreement. Wherefore, as any man's deed paſt is good as long as himſelf continueth; ſo the act of a public ſociety of men done five hundred years ſithence, ſtandeth as theirs who preſently are of the ſame ſocieties, becauſe corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predeceſſors, and they in their ſucceſſors do live ſtill. Laws therefore human of what kind ſoever are available by conſent. If here it be demanded, how it comes to paſs that this being common unto all

Laws

Laws which are made, there ſhould be found even in good Laws ſo great variety as there is? we muſt note the reaſon hereof to be, the ſundry particular ends, whereunto the different diſpoſition of that ſubject or matter for which Laws are provided, cauſeth them to have a ſpecial reſpect in making Laws. A Law there is mentioned amongſt the Grecians, whereof Pittacus is reported to have been author; and by that Law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink did then ſtrike any man, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if he had done the ſame being ſober. No man could ever have thought this reaſonable that had intended thereby only to puniſh the injury committed according to the gravity of the fact: for who knoweth not, that harm adviſedly done is naturally leſs pardonable, and therefore worthy of ſharper puniſhment? But foraſmuch as none did ſo uſually this way offend as men in that caſe, which they wittingly fell into, even becauſe they would be ſo much the more freely outrageous; it was for their public good, where ſuch diſorder was grown, to frame a poſitive Law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain thoſe known Laws of making Laws; as that Lawmakers muſt have an eye to that place where, and to the men amongſt whom; that one kind of Laws cannot ſerve for all kind of regiment; that where the multitude beareth ſway, Laws that ſhall tend to the preſervation of that ſtate muſt make common ſmaller offices to go by lot, for fear of ſtrife and diviſion likely to ariſe; by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſufficing for diſcharging of ſuch offices, they could not but by many be deſired, and ſo with danger contended for, and not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment; whereas at an uncertain lot, none can find themſelves grieved, on whomſoever it lighteth: contrariwiſe the greateſt, whereof but few are capable, to paſs by popular election, that neither the people may envy ſuch as have thoſe honours, inaſmuch

Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii. cap. ult.

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inaſmuch as themſelves beſtow them, and that the chiefeſt may be kindled with deſire to exerciſe all parts of rare and beneficial virtue; knowing they ſhall not loſe their labour by growing in fame and eſtimation among the people: if the helm of chief government be in the hands of a few of the wealthieſt, that then Laws providing for continuance thereof muſt make the puniſhment of contumely and wrong, offered unto any of the common ſort, ſharp and grievous; that ſo the evil may be prevented whereby the rich are moſt likely to bring themſelves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take ſo great offence when they are excluded from honours and offices, as when their perſons are contumeliouſly trodden upon. In other kinds of regiment, the like is obſerved concerning the difference of poſitive Laws, which to be every where the ſame is impoſſible, and againſt their nature. Now as the learned in the Laws of this land obſerve, that our Statutes ſometimes are only the affirmation or ratification of that which by common Law was held before; ſo here it is not to be omitted, that generally all Laws human which are made for the ordering of politic ſocieties be either ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome duty, whereunto all men by the Law of Reaſon did before ſtand bound; or elſe ſuch as make that a duty now, which before was none. The one ſort we may for diſtinction ſake call mixedly, and the other merely human. That which plain or neceſſary Reaſon bindeth men unto, may be in ſundry conſiderations expedient to be ratified by human Law. For example, if confuſion of blood in marriage, the liberty of having many wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreaſonable cuſtom doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand of right reaſon with the greateſt part; ſo that no way is left to rectify ſuch foul diſorder without preſcribing by Law the ſame things which Reaſon neceſſarily doth enforce, but is not perceived that ſo it

Staundf. Pref. to the Pleas of the Crown.

it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom he writeth, ſaying, that *even what things they naturally know, in thoſe very things, as beaſts void of reaſon, they corrupted themſelves:* or if there be no ſuch ſpecial accident, yet foraſmuch as the common ſort are led by the ſway of their ſenſual deſires, and therefore do more ſhun ſin for the ſenſible evils which follow it amongſt men, than for any kind of ſentence which Reaſon doth pronounce againſt it[a]; this very thing is cauſe ſufficient, why duties belonging unto each kind of virtue, albeit the Law of Reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding be preſcribed even by human Law. Which Law in this caſe we term *mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth is the ſame which Reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas men before ſtood bound in conſcience to do as the Law of Reaſon teacheth; they are now by virtue of human Law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſs, puniſhable. As for Laws which are merely human, the matter of them is any thing which Reaſon doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; ſo that till ſuch time as Law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of itſelf it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this; lands are by human Law in ſome places, after the owner's deceaſe, divided unto all his children; in ſome, all deſcendeth to the eldeſt ſon. If the Law of Reaſon did neceſſarily require but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by Law have received the other, ſhould be ſubject to that heavy ſentence which denounceth againſt all that decree wicked, unjuſt, and unreaſonable things, *woe*. Whereas now, whichſoever be received, there is no Law of Reaſon tranſ-

BOOK I.

Jud. ver. 10.

Iſai. x. 1.

[a] Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πειθαρχοῦσι καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. Ariſt. Eth. lib. x. cap. 10.

greſſed;

BOOK I. greſſed; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient; and for either of them more than probable reaſon there is not to be found. Laws, whether mixtly or merely human, are made by politic ſocieties; ſome only as thoſe ſocieties are civilly united; ſome, as they are ſpiritually joined, and make ſuch a body as we call the Church. Of Laws human in this latter kind, we are to ſpeak in the third book following. Let it therefore ſuffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciouſly endued our Nature, and thereby enabled the ſame to find out both thoſe Laws which all men generally are for ever bound to obſerve; and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered ſtate of government. Now beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth men, as men; and that which belongeth unto them, as they are men linked with others in ſome form of politic ſociety, there is a third kind of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeveral bodies politic, ſo far forth as one of them hath public commerce with another. And this third is, the Law of Nations. Between men and beaſts there is no poſſibility of ſociable communion, becauſe the well-ſpring of that communion is a natural delight which man hath to transfuſe from himſelf into others, and to receive from others into himſelf, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of his kind doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt inſtrument of human communion therefore is ſpeech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another the conceits of our reaſonable underſtanding. And for that cauſe, ſeeing beaſts are not hereof capable, foraſmuch as with them we can uſe no ſuch conference, they being in degree, although above other creatures on earth, to whom Nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower than to be ſociable companions of man, to whom Nature hath given reaſon; it is of Adam ſaid, that amongſt the beaſts *he found not for himſelf any meet companion.*

Ariſt. Polit. i. cap. 2.

Gen. ii. 20.

Civil

Civil ſociety doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of ſolitary living; becauſe in ſociety this good of mutual participation is ſo much larger than otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of ſociety and fellowſhip even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to ſignify, profeſſed himſelf a citizen not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural deſire in us (a manifeſt token that we wiſh, after a ſort, an univerſal fellowſhip with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, ſome to viſit foreign countries, ſome to diſcover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them. And this not only for traffic's ſake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo as moved the Queen of Sheba to viſit Solomon; and in a word, becauſe Nature doth preſume, that how many men there are in the world, ſo many gods, as it were, there are; or at leaſtwiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards men. Touching Laws which are to ſerve men in this behalf; even as thoſe Laws of Reaſon, which (man retaining his original integrity) had been ſufficient to direct each particular perſon in all his affairs and duties, are not ſufficient, but require the acceſs of other Laws, now that man and his offſpring are grown thus corrupt and ſinful; again, as thoſe Laws of polity and regiment which would have ſerved men living in public ſociety, together with that harmleſs diſpoſition which then they ſhould have had, are not able now to ſerve, when men's iniquity is ſo hardly reſtrained within any tolerable bounds; in like manner, the national Laws of natural commerce between ſocieties of that former and better quality might have been other than now, when nations are ſo prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong.

Cic. Tuſc. v. et i. de Legib.

1 Kings x. 1. 2 Chron. ix. 1. Matth. xii. 42. Luke xi. 31.

BOOK I.

wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of theſe three kinds that diſtinction between primary and ſecondary Laws; the one grounded upon ſincere, the other built upon depraved nature. Primary Laws of nations are ſuch as concern embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and ſtrangers, ſuch as ſerve for commodious traffic, and the like. Secondary Laws in the ſame kind are ſuch as this preſent unquiet world is moſt familiarly acquainted with; I mean Laws of arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the Law of nations doth contain I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength and virtue of that Law is ſuch, that no particular nation can lawfully prejudice the ſame by any their ſeveral Laws and ordinances more, than a man by his private reſolutions the Law of the whole commonwealth or ſtate wherein he liveth. For as civil Law being the act of the whole body politic, doth therefore over-rule each ſeveral part of the ſame body; ſo there is no reaſon that any one commonwealth of itſelf ſhould, to the prejudice of another, annihilate that whereupon the whole world hath agreed. For which cauſe, the Lacedæmonians forbidding all acceſs of ſtrangers into their coaſts, are in that reſpect both by Joſephus and Theodoret deſervedly blamed, as being enemies to that hoſpitality which for common humanity's ſake all the nations on earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of communion, and conſequently of Laws, for the maintenance of communion amongſt nations; ſo amongſt nations Chriſtian, the like in regard even of Chriſtianity hath been always judged needful. And in this kind of correſpondence amongſt nations the force of general Councils doth ſtand. For as one and the ſame Law divine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeak, is unto all Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things; by means whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as having all but

Joſeph. lib. ii. contra Apion.

Theod. lib. ix. de fan. and. Græc. Affect.

One

One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm; ſo the urgent neceſſity of mutual communion for preſervation of our Unity in theſe things, as alſo for Order in ſome other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requiſite that the Church of God here on earth have her Laws of ſpiritual commerce between Chriſtian nations; Laws, by virtue whereof all Churches may enjoy freely the uſe of thoſe reverend, religious, and ſacred conſultations, which are termed Councils general. A thing whereof God's own bleſſed Spirit was the author; a thing practiſed by the holy Apoſtles themſelves; a thing always afterwards kept and obſerved throughout the world; a thing never otherwiſe than moſt highly eſteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began by factious and vile endeavours to abuſe that divine intention unto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the juſt authority of civil Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be aboliſhed, becauſe ſometimes there is cunning uſed to frame them according to the private intents of men over-potent in the commonwealth; ſo the grievous abuſe which hath been of Councils, ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudy how ſo gracious a thing may again be reduced to that firſt perfection, than in regard of ſtains and blemiſhes, ſithence growing, be held for ever in extreme diſgrace. To ſpeak of this matter as the cauſe requireth would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay is this, whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto divine Law bindeth us, but yet in ſuch ſort, that [illegible] thereof on all ſides reſolved; or for the [illegible] unifo[illegible] judgment to ſtand [illegible], being neither way matters of [illegible] ſtanding offenſive and ſcandalous, when there [illegible] oppoſition about them; be it for the ending of ſtrifes, touching matters of Chriſtian belief, wherein the one part may ſeem to have probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning mat-

Epheſ. iv. 5.

Acts xv. 28.

ters

BOOK I.

ters of polity, order, and regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelves to thoſe heavenly Precepts which our Lord and Saviour with ſo great inſtancy gave, as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in deſire to have the uſe of ancient Councils again renewed, rather than theſe proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endleſs, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is by ſword. It followeth therefore, that a new foundation being laid, we now adjoin hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be ſpoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himſelf by Scripture made known ſuch Laws as ſerve for direction of men.

John xiv. 27.

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known ſuch ſupernatural Laws, as do ſerve for men's direction.

11. All things, (God only excepted,) beſides the nature which they have in themſelves, receive externally ſome perfection from other things, as hath been ſhewed. Inſomuch, as there is in the whole world no one thing great or ſmall, but, either in reſpect of knowledge or of uſe, it may unto our perfection add ſomewhat. And whatſoever ſuch perfection there is which our nature may acquire, the ſame we properly term our [illegible] our ſovereign good or bleſſedneſs, that wherein the higheſt degree of all our perfection conſiſteth. That which being once attained unto, there can rest nothing further to be deſired; and therefore with it our ſouls are fully content and ſatisfied, in that they have they rejoice, and thirſt for no more. Wherefore of good things deſired, ſome are ſuch, that for themſelves we covet them not, but only becauſe they ſerve as inſtruments unto that for which we are to ſeek: of this ſort are riches. Another kind there is, which although we deſire for itſelf, as health, and virtue, and knowledge; nevertheleſs, they are not the laſt mark whereat we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred: ſo as in them we are not ſatisfied, as having attained the utmoſt we may, but our

our desires do still proceed. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another. We labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference unto a future harvest[a]: but we must come at length to some pause. For if every thing were to be desired for some other, without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither; yea, whatsoever we do were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our being were to annihilate utterly our persons; so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for itself simply, and for no other: that is simply for itself desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired with relation unto any other. The ox and the ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them this is desired for itself. But why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for itself, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred unto a further end. Now that which man doth desire, with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in itself, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or any thing here attained, because in desiring any thing as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss. Nothing

BOOK I.

Vide Arist. Ethic. lib. x. c. 10. et Metaph. l. xii. c. 6. et c. 4. et c. 30.

[a] Gal. vi. 8. He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting.

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may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite: for the better, the more desirable; that therefore is most desirable wherein there is infinity of goodness: so that if any thing desirable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite but only God; therefore he is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the things wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied even with everlasting delight: so that although we be men, yet by being unto God united, we live as it were the life of God. Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for itself is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our perfection. Of such perfection capable we are not in this life. For while we are in the world we are subject unto sundry imperfections, grief of body, defects of mind; yea, the best things we do are painful, and the exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: which tediousness cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with

* Μόνον, ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε, τὸ ὄνομα τῦ ἀγαθῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις· τὸ ἔργον εὐδαιμῶ. Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐςι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ καλῦ τὸ ἐλάχιςον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, κἀγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς ἐμὲ βαλόντι περὶ τ' γνώσιως τὸ ἀγαθῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐςιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐςι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς τὸ ἀγαθῦ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῷ θεῷ. Merc. Tris.

God

God is complete. Complete union with him muſt be according unto every power and faculty of our minds, apt to receive ſo glorious an object. Capable we are of God, both by underſtanding and will: by underſtanding, as he is that ſovereign truth which comprehends the rich treaſures of all wiſdom: by will, as he is that ſea of goodneſs whereof whoſo taſteth ſhall thirſt no more. As the will doth now work upon that object by deſire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained, ſo likewiſe upon the ſame hereafter received it ſhall work alſo by love. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, ſaith St. Auguſtine: *The longing diſpoſition of them that thirſt, is changed into the ſweet affection of them that taſte, and are repleniſhed.* Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good eſpecially in reſpect of benefit unto us; we ſhall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodneſs of beauty in itſelf. The Soul being in this ſort as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite Good, ſhall, as it is receptive, be alſo perfected with thoſe ſupernatural paſſions of joy, peace, and delight. All this endleſs and everlaſting[s]. Which perpetuity, in regard whereof our bleſſedneſs is termed *a crown which withereth not*, doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing itſelf, nor proceed from any natural neceſſity that our Souls ſhould ſo exerciſe themſelves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree, and continue it ſo perfected. Under man, no creature in the world is capable of felicity and bliſs. Firſt, becauſe their chiefeſt perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for them, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth. Secondly, becauſe whatſoever external perfection they tend unto, it is not better than them-

BOOK I.

Aug. de Trin. lib. ix. c. ult.

2 Tim. iv. 8. 1 Pet. i. 4.

[s] Matth. xxv. The juſt ſhall go into life everlaſting. Matth. xxii. They ſhall be as the Angels of God.

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ſelves, as ours is. How juſt occaſion have we therefore, even in this reſpect, with the Prophet to admire the goodneſs of God? Lord, what is man, that thou ſhouldſt exalt him above the works of thy hands, ſo far as to make thyſelf the inheritance of his reſt, and the ſubſtance of his felicity? Now, if men had not naturally this deſire to be happy, how were it poſſible that all men ſhould have it? All men have. Therefore this deſire in man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the ſame; how ſhould it then be in our power to do it coldly or remiſsly? So that our deſire being natural, is alſo in that degree of earneſtneſs whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the hearts of all men ſo deſirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an axiom of Nature, that natural deſire cannot utterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being natural ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfy the ſame were a thing impoſſible for man to aſpire unto. Man doth ſeek a triple perfection; firſt, a ſenſual, conſiſting in thoſe things which very life itſelf requireth as neceſſary ſupplements, or as beauties and ornaments thereof; then an intellectual, conſiſting in thoſe things which none underneath man is either capable of, or acquainted with; laſtly, a ſpiritual and divine, conſiſting in thoſe things whereunto we tend by ſupernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the ſcope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to have no God but only their belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the ſecond they bend themſelves, who ſeek eſpecially to excel in all ſuch knowledge and virtue as doth moſt commend men. To this branch belongeth the Law of moral and civil perfection. That there is ſomewhat higher than either of theſe two, no other proof doth need than the very proceſs of man's deſire, which being natural ſhould be fruſtrate, if there were not ſome farther thing wherein it might reſt at the length contented,

Pſalm viii.

Comment. in Procem. ii. Metaph.

Phil. iii. 19.

contented, which in the former it cannot do. For man doth not ſeem to reſt ſatisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preſerved, or with performance of ſuch actions as advance him moſt deſervedly in eſtimation; but doth further covet, yea, oftentimes manifeſtly purſue, with great ſedulity and earneſtneſs, that which cannot ſtand him in any ſtead for vital uſe; that which exceedeth the reach of ſenſe, yea ſomewhat above capacity of Reaſon, ſomewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather ſurmiſeth than conceiveth; ſomewhat it ſeeketh, and what that is directly it knoweth not; yet very intentive deſire thereof doth ſo incite it, that all other known delights and pleaſures are laid aſide, they give place to the ſearch of this but only ſuſpected deſire. If the ſoul of man did ſerve only to give him being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life would content him, as we ſee they do other creatures; which creatures enjoying what they live by, ſeek no further, but in this contentation do ſhew a kind of acknowledgment that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwiſe. For although the beauties, riches, honours, ſciences, virtues, and perfections of all men living, were in the preſent poſſeſſion of one; yet ſomewhat beyond and above all this, there would ſtill be ſought and earneſtly thirſted for. So that Nature even in this life doth plainly claim and call for a more divine perfection than either of theſe two that have been mentioned. This laſt and higheſt eſtate of perfection whereof we ſpeak, is received of men in the nature of a [a] reward. Rewards do always preſuppoſe ſuch duties performed as are rewardable. Our natural means therefore unto bleſſedneſs are our works; BOOK I.

[a] Matth. v. 12. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. cap. 6. Summa merces eſt ut ipſo perfruamur.

BOOK I.

nor is it poſſible that Nature ſhould ever find any other way to ſalvation than only this. But examine the works which we do, and ſince the firſt foundation of the world what one can ſay, My ways are pure? Seeing then all fleſh is guilty of that for which God hath threatened eternally to puniſh, what poſſibility is there this way to be ſaved? There reſteth therefore either no way unto ſalvation, or if any, then ſurely a way which is ſupernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himſelf had not revealed it extraordinarily. For which cauſe, we term it the Myſtery or ſecret way of ſalvation. And therefore St. Ambroſe in this matter appeal-

Ambroſ. contra. Sym.

eth juſtly from man to God, *Cœli myſterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui ſeipſum ignoravit: Let God himſelf that made me, let not man that knows not himſelf, be my inſtructor concerning the myſtical way to heaven.* [a] *When men of excellent wit* (ſaith Lactantius) *had wholly betaken themſelves unto ſtudy, after farewel bidden unto all kind as well of private as public action, they ſpared no labour that might be ſpent in the ſearch of truth; [illegible] thing of much more*

[a] Magno et excellenti ingenio [illegible] ſe doctrinæ penitus dedidiſſent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus et privatis et publicis actionibus) ad inquirendam veritatis ſtudium contulerunt, exiſtimantes multo eſſe præclarius humanarum divinarumque rerum inveſtigare ac ſcire rationem, quam ſtruendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti ſunt id quod volebant, et operam ſimul atque induſtriam perdiderunt: quia veritas, id eſt arcanum ſummi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis ſenſibus non poteſt comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominemque diſtaret, ſi conſilia et diſpoſitiones illius majeſtatis æternæ cogitatio adæquaretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per ſeipſum ratio divina noteſceret, non eſt paſſus hominem Deus lumen ſapientiæ requirentem diutius aberrare, ac ſine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, et notionem veritatis munus ſuum fecit, ut et humanam ſapientiam nullam eſſe monſtraret, et erranti ac vago viam conſequendæ immortalitatis oſtenderet. Lactant. lib. i. cap. 1.

price,

price, to ſeek and to find out the reaſon of all affairs, as well divine as human, than to ſtick faſt in the toil of piling up riches, and gathering together heaps of honours. Howbeit, they did both fail of their purpoſe, and got not ſo much as to quit their charges; becauſe truth, which is the ſecret of the moſt high God, whoſe proper handy-work all things are, cannot be compaſſed with that wit and thoſe ſenſes which are our own. For God and man ſhould be very near neighbours, if man's cogitations were able to take a ſurvey of the counſels and appointments of that majeſty everlaſting. Which being utterly impoſſible, that the eye of man by itſelf ſhould look into the boſom of divine Reaſon; God did not ſuffer him, being deſirous of the light of wiſdom, to ſtray any longer up and down, and with bootleſs expence of travel to wander in darkneſs that had no paſſage to get out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and beſtow upon him the knowledge of the truth by way of donative, to the end that man might both be clearly convicted of folly; and being through error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him. Thus far Lactantius Firmianus, to ſhew, that God himſelf is the teacher of the truth, whereby is made known the ſupernatural way of ſalvation and Law for them to live in that ſhall be ſaved. In the natural path of everlaſting life the firſt beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of man's creation endued him with; from hence obedience unto the will of his Creator, abſolute righteouſneſs and integrity in all his actions; and laſt of all, the juſtice of God rewarding the worthineſs of his deſerts with the crown of eternal glory. Had Adam continued in his firſt eſtate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his poſterity. Whereas I confeſs notwithſtanding with the [a] wittieſt of the

[a] Scot. lib. iv. Sent. diſt. 49. 6. Loquendo de ſtricta juſtitia, Deus nulli noſtrum propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immoderatum exceſſum illius

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School Divines, that if we ſpeak of ſtrict juſtice, God could no way have been bound to requite man's labours in ſo large and ample a manner as human felicity doth import; inaſmuch as the dignity of this exceedeth ſo far the other's value. But be it that God of his great liberality had determined in lieu of man's endeavours to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that juſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namely, the juſtice of one that requiteth nothing mincingly, but all with preſſed and heaped and even over-enlarged meaſure; yet could it never hereupon neceſſarily be gathered, that ſuch juſtice ſhould add to the nature of that reward the property of everlaſting continuance; ſith poſſeſſion of bliſs, though it ſhould be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this conſideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might ſtill appear in ſo rewarding the ſons of men, albeit they ſhould exactly perform whatſoever duty their nature bindeth them unto. Howſoever God did propoſe this reward, we that were to be rewarded muſt have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in nature a impoſſibility that the other ſhould be looked for. The light of Nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of bliſs, but by performing exactly the duties and works of righteouſneſs. From ſalvation therefore and life, all fleſh being excluded this way, behold how the wiſdom of God hath revealed a way myſtical and ſupernatural, a way directing unto the ſame end of life by a courſe which groundeth itſelf upon the guiltineſs of ſin, and through ſin deſert of

lius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed eſto quod ex liberalitate ſua determinaſſet meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem juſtitia qualis decet eum, ſcilicet ſupererogantis in præmiis: tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſario, quod per illam juſtitiam ſit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

condemnation

condemnation and death. For in this way, the first BOOK
thing is the tender compaſſion of God reſpecting us
drowned or ſwallowed up in miſery; the next is
redemption out of the ſame by the precious death
and merit of a mighty Saviour, which hath wit-
neſſed of himſelf, ſaying, *I am the way*, the way John xiv.
that leadeth us from miſery into bliſs. This ſuper- 6.
natural way had God in himſelf prepared before all
worlds. The way of ſupernatural duty which to us
he hath preſcribed, our Saviour in the Goſpel of St.
John doth note, terming it by an excellency, the
work of God: *This is the work of God, that ye believe* John vi.
in him whom he hath ſent. Not that God doth 29.
require nothing unto happineſs at the hands of men,
ſaving only a naked belief, (for hope and charity we
may not exclude;) but that without belief all other
things are as nothing, and it the ground of thoſe
other divine virtues. Concerning Faith, the principal
object whereof is that eternal verity which hath
diſcovered the treaſures of hidden wiſdom in Chriſt;
concerning Hope, the higheſt object whereof is that
everlaſting goodneſs which in Chriſt doth quicken
the dead; concerning Charity, the final object where-
of is that incomprehenſible beauty which ſhineth in
the countenance of Chriſt the Son of the living God;
concerning theſe virtues, the firſt of which beginning
here with a weak apprehenſion of things not ſeen,
endeth with the intuitive viſion of God in the world
to come: the ſecond beginning here with a trembling
expectation of things far removed, and as yet but
only heard of, endeth with real and actual fruition of
that which no tongue can expreſs; the third begin-
ning here with a weak inclination of heart towards
him, unto whom we are not able to approach, end-
eth with endleſs union, the myſtery whereof is higher
than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning
that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there
can be no ſalvation, was there ever any mention made
ſaving only in that Law which God himſelf hath
from

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from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a ſyllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of theſe three, more than hath been ſupernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God. Laws therefore concerning theſe things are ſupernatural, both in reſpect of the manner of delivering them, which is divine; and alſo in regard of the things delivered, which are ſuch as have not in Nature any cauſe from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained, beſides the courſe of Nature, to rectify Nature's obliquity withal.

The cauſe why ſo many natural or rational Laws are ſet down in holy Scripture.

12. When ſupernatural duties are neceſſarily exacted, natural are not rejected as needleſs. The Law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for inſtruction in the one, yet fraught with precepts of the other alſo. The Scripture is fraught even with Laws of Nature, inſomuch that [a] Gratian, defining natural right, (whereby is meant the right which exacteth thoſe general duties that concern men naturally even as they are men,) termeth natural right that which the books of the Law and the Goſpel do contain. Neither is it vain that the Scripture aboundeth with ſo great ſtore of Laws in this kind: for they are either ſuch as we of ourſelves could not eaſily have found out, and then the benefit is not ſmall to have them readily ſet down to our hands; or if they be ſo clear and manifeſt that no man endued with Reaſon can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the ſchool of Nature, as ſerving to prove things leſs manifeſt, and to induce a perſuaſion of ſomewhat which were in itſelf more hard and dark, unleſs it ſhould in ſuch ſort be cleared, the very applying of them unto caſes particular is not without moſt ſingular uſe and profit many ways for men's inſtruction. Beſides, be they plain of themſelves or obſcure, the

[a] Jus naturale eſt quod in Lege et Evangelio continetur, p. 1. d. 1.

evidence

evidence of God's own teſtimony, added unto the natural aſſent of Reaſon concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the ſame. Wherefore, inaſmuch as our actions are converſant about things beſet with many circumſtances, which cauſe men of ſundry wits to be alſo of ſundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done; requiſite it cannot but ſeem the rule of divine Law ſhould herein help our imbecility, that we might the more infallibly underſtand what is good and what evil. The firſt principles of the Law of Nature are eaſy; hard it were to find men ignorant of them. But concerning the duty which Nature's Law doth require at the hands of men in a number of things particular, ſo [a] far hath the natural underſtanding even of ſundry whole nations been darkened, that they have not diſcerned, no, not groſs iniquity to be ſin. Again, being ſo prone as we are to fawn upon ourſelves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling ſenſe whereof we are moſt wretched; even ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing them, we cannot as much as deſire to have them taken away, how ſhould our feſtered

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[a] Joſeph. lib. ſecundo contra Apion. Lacedæmonii quomodo non ſunt ob inhoſpitalitatem reprehendendi, fœdumque neglectum nuptiarum? Elienſes vero et Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis plane impudentem et contra naturam, quem recte et utiliter exercere putabant? Cumque hæc omnino perpetrarunt, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere. *Vide Tb* 12, *q.* 49. 4, 5, 6. Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. *Auguſt.* aut quiſquis author eſt Lib. de quæſt. nov. et vet. Teſt. Quis neſciat quid bonæ vitæ conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod ſibi fieri non vult, aliis minime debeat facere? At vero ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi tunc oportuit manifeſtari ſcriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent: non quod penitus obliterata eſt, ſed quia maxima ejus authoritate cavebat, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avidi erat concupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt, ut quæ ſefellantur authoritatem haberent, et quæ latere cuperant, manifeſtarentur.

ſores

[BOOK I.

fores be cured, but that God hath delivered a Law as ſharp as the two-edged ſword, piercing the very cloſeſt and moſt unſearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, human Laws by no means poſſibly reach unto? Hereby we know even ſecret concupiſcence to be ſin, and are made fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandering cogitation. Finally, of thoſe things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the light of Nature itſelf; are there not many which few men's natural capacity, and ſome which no man's hath been able to find out? They are, ſaith St. Auguſtine, but a few, and they endued with great ripeneſs of wit and judgment, free from all ſuch affairs as might trouble their meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and the ſubtileſt points of learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but only the Immortality of the Soul. The Reſurrection of the Fleſh what man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwiſe than from the ſchool of Nature? Whereby it appeareth, how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator the Father of all mercy eternal thanks, for that he hath delivered his Law unto the world; a Law wherein ſo many things are laid open, clear, and manifeſt; as a light, which otherwiſe would have been buried in darkneſs, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loſs of infinite thouſands of ſouls, moſt undoubtedly now ſaved. We ſee therefore that our ſovereign good is deſired naturally; that God, the author of that natural deſire, had appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that man having utterly diſabled his nature unto thoſe means, hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from heaven a Law to teach him how that which is deſired naturally muſt now ſupernaturally be attained. Finally, we ſee, that because thoſe latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unneceſſary, therefore

fore together with ſuch ſupernatural duties as could not poſſibly have been otherwiſe known to the world, the ſame Law that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch natural duties as could not by light of Nature eaſily have been known.

13. In the firſt age of the world God gave Laws unto our fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their days their memories ſerved inſtead of books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the ſame, by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoved them to be ſpecially mindful. In which reſpect, we ſee how many times one thing hath been iterated unto ſundry, even of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the lives of men were ſhortened, means more durable to preſerve the Laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in uſe, not without preciſe direction from God himſelf. Firſt therefore of Moſes it is ſaid, that he *wrote all the words of God*; not by his own private motion and device: for God taketh this act to himſelf, *I have written.* Furthermore, were not the Prophets following commanded alſo to do the like? Unto the holy Evangeliſt St. John, how often expreſs charge is given, *Scribe*; *Write theſe things?* Concerning the reſt of our Lord's Diſciples, the words of St. Auguſtine are, *Quicquid ille de ſuis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc ſcribendum illis tanquam ſuis manibus imperavit.* Now although we do not deny it to be a matter merely accidental unto the Law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and ſtrength thereunto; finally, though his Laws do require at our hands the ſame obedience, howſoever they be delivered; his providence notwithſtanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who ſeeth not what cauſe we have to admire and magnify? The ſingular benefit that hath grown unto the world by receiving the Laws of God, even by his own appointment committed

The benefit of having divine Laws written.

Exod. xxiv. 4.

Hoſ. viii. 12.

Apoc. i. 11. and xiv. 13.

Aug. lib. 1. de Conſ. Evan. cap. ult.

BOOK I.

mitted unto writing, we are not able to eſteem as the value thereof deſerveth. When the queſtion therefore is, whether we be now to ſeek for any revealed Law of God otherwhere than only in the ſacred Scripture: whether we do now ſtand bound in the ſight of God to yield to Traditions urged by the Church of Rome the ſame obedience and reverence we do to his written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as divine? our anſwer is, No. They that ſo earneſtly plead for the authority of Tradition, as if nothing were more ſafely conveyed than that which ſpreadeth itſelf by report, and deſcendeth by relation of former generations unto the ages that ſucceed, are not all of them (ſurely a miracle it were if they ſhould be) ſo ſimple, as thus to perſuade themſelves; howſoever, if the ſimple were ſo perſuaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common error. What hazard the truth is in when it paſſeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot poſſibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind, conſider but only that little of things divine which the [a] Heathen have in ſuch ſort received. How miſerable had the ſtate of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the ſacred Scripture, we had no record of his Laws but only the memory of man receiving the ſame by report and relation from his predeceſſors? By Scripture, it hath in the wiſdom of God ſeemed meet to deliver unto the world much, but perſonally expedient to be practiſed of certain men; many deep

[a] I mean thoſe hiſtorical matters concerning the ancient ſtate of the firſt world, the Deluge, the Sons of Noah, the children of Iſrael's deliverance out of Egypt, the life and doings of Moſes their captain, with ſuch like: the certain truth whereof delivered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen, which had them only by report, & intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the moſt which remaineth in them to be ſeen, is the ſhew of dark and obſcure ſteps, where ſome part of the truth hath gone.

and

and profound points of doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the precepts of duty depend; many prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the world in belief of things unſeen; many hiſtories to ſerve as looking-glaſſes to behold the mercy, the truth, the righteouſneſs of God towards all that faithfully ſerve, obey, and honour him; yea, many entire meditations of piety, to be as patterns and precedents in caſes of like nature; many things needful for explication, many for application unto particular occaſions, ſuch as the providence of God from time to time hath taken, to have the ſeveral books of his holy ordinance written. Be it then, that together with the principal neceſſary Laws of God there are ſundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant and yet be ſaved: what? ſhall we hereupon think them needleſs? ſhall we eſteem them as riotous branches, wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant vines overgrown? Surely, no more than we judge our hands or our eyes ſuperfluous, or what part ſoever; which if our bodies did want, we might, notwithſtanding any ſuch defect, retain ſtill the complete being of men. As therefore a complete man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome parts, whereof though the want could not deprive him of his eſſence, yet to have them ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpecial uſes for which they ſerve; in like ſort, all thoſe writings which contain in them the Law of God, all thoſe venerable books of Scripture, all thoſe ſacred tomes and volumes of holy writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life, nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needleſs, we ſhould think it no loſs or danger at all if we did want it. BOOK I.

14. Although the Scripture of God therefore be ſtored

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ſtored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of Laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the Laws of duties ſupernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very ſolemn manner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary unto ſalvation be neceſſarily ſet down in the holy Scriptures or no [a]. If we define that neceſſary unto ſalvation, whereby the way to ſalvation is in any ſort made more plain, apparent, and eaſy to be known; then is there no part of true philoſophy, no art of account, no kind of ſcience, rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt contain it. If only thoſe things be neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practice whereof it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinary grant of ſalvation; it may be notwithſtanding, and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the books of holy Scripture contain in them all neceſſary things, when of things neceſſary the very chief is to know what books we are to eſteem holy; which point is confeſſed impoſſible for the Scripture itſelf to teach. Whereunto we may anſwer with truth, that there is not in the world any art or ſcience, which propoſing unto itſelf an end, (as every one doth ſome end or other,) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered ſimply whatſoever is needful to the ſame end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other ſciences and known beforehand. He that ſhould take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needs deliver unto them whatſoever precepts are requiſite unto that end; otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquent-

The ſufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was inſtituted.

[a] Utrum cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori, ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacra Scriptura? This queſtion propoſed by Scotus is affirmatively concluded.

ly,

ly, unleſs he be able firſt to ſpeak; it followeth, that ability of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliver all the precepts of Grammar; becauſe his profeſſion is to deliver precepts neceſſary unto eloquent ſpeech; yet ſo, that they which are to receive them be taught beforehand ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſary, as comprehendeth the ſkill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture do profeſs to contain in it all things that are neceſſary unto ſalvation; yet the meaning cannot be ſimply of all things which are neceſſary, but all things that are neceſſary in ſome certain kind or form; as all things which are neceſſary, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily be known by the light of natural diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſary to be known that we may be ſaved; but known with preſuppoſal of knowledge concerning certain principles whereof it receiveth us already perſuaded, and then inſtructeth us in all the reſidue that are neceſſary. In the number of theſe principles, one is the ſacred authority of Scripture. Being therefore perſuaded by other means that theſe Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themſelves do then teach us the reſt, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Further there hath been ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *containing in Scripture* do import expreſs ſetting down in plain terms, or elſe comprehending in ſuch ſort that, by Reaſon, we may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtances have ſundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the Co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of baptizing infants: theſe, with ſuch other principal points, the neceſſity whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in

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BOOK I. Scripture no where to be found by expreſs literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in Scripture being therefore received, ſtill there is no doubt, how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and complete meaſure of things neceſſary be made up. For let us not think, that as long as the world doth endure, the wit of man ſhall be able to ſound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; eſpecially, if things contained by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoever may be at any time out of Scripture but probably and conjecturally ſurmiſed. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſity urged upon this Church, under the name of reformed Church-diſcipline, there is any one which their books hitherto have made manifeſt to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, allege but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and us, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be neceſſary. It hath been already ſhewed, how all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, in ſuch ſort as before we have maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all fleſh is excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, which to think were moſt barbarous; or elſe, that God hath by ſupernatural means revealed the way of Life ſo far as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe, God hath ſo many times and ways ſpoken to the ſons of men: neither hath he by ſpeech only, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath been, to the end that things by him revealed unto the world might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of aſſurance; by how much that which

which ſtandeth on record, hath in both thoſe reſpects pre-eminence above that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no pens but the tongues, no book but the ears of men to record it. The ſeveral books of Scripture having had each ſome ſeveral occaſion and particular purpoſe which cauſed them to be written, the contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpecial end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth that every book of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, natural, hiſtorical, foreign, ſupernatural, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now foraſmuch as there have been reaſons alleged ſufficient to conclude that all things neceſſary unto ſalvation muſt be made known, and that God himſelf hath therefore revealed his will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not have known ſo much as is neceſſary; his ſurceaſing to ſpeak to the world, ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the delivery of the ſame in writing, is unto us a manifeſt token that the way of ſalvation is now ſufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full inſtruction than God hath already furniſhed us withal. The main drift of the whole New Teſtament is that which St. John ſetteth down as the purpoſe of his own hiſtory, *Theſe things are written, that ye might believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt the Son of God, and that in believing ye might have life through his name.* The drift of the Old, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to Timothy, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* So that the general end both of Old and New is one; the difference between them conſiſting in this, that the Old did make wiſe by teaching ſalvation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the New, by teaching that Chriſt the Saviour is come; and that Jeſus whom the Jews did crucify, and whom God did raiſe again from the dead, is he. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth unto Timothy, that the Old was able to make him wiſe to ſalvation, it

Eph. v. 29. 2 Tim. iii. 8. Tit. i. 12. 2 Pet. ii. 4. Joh. xx. 31. 2 Tim. iii. 15.

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was not his meaning, that the Old alone can do this unto us which live ſithence the publication of the New. For he ſpeaketh with preſuppoſal of the doctrine of Chriſt, known alſo unto Timothy; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned, and art perſuaded, knowing of whom thou haſt been taught them.* Again, thoſe Scriptures he granteth were able to make him wiſe to ſalvation; but he addeth, *through the faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the doctrine of the New Teſtament, teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the redemption of the world; which redemption the Old did foreſhew he ſhould work; it is not the former alone which can on our behalf perform ſo much as the Apoſtle doth avouch, who preſuppoſeth this, when he magnifieth that ſo highly. And as his words concerning the books of ancient Scripture do not take place but with preſuppoſal of the Goſpel of Chriſt embraced; ſo our own words alſo, when we extol the complete ſufficiency of the whole entire body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be underſtood with this caution, that the benefit of Nature's light be not thought excluded as unneceſſary, becauſe the neceſſity of a diviner light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling ſoever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his natural underſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful inſtruction unto any good work which God himſelf requireth, be it natural or ſupernatural, belonging ſimply unto men, as men; or unto men, as they are united in whatſoever kind of ſociety. It ſufficeth therefore, that Nature and Scripture do ſerve in ſuch full ſort, that they both jointly, and not ſeverally either of them, be ſo complete, that unto everlaſting felicity, we need not the knowledge of any thing more than theſe two may eaſily furniſh our minds with on all ſides. And therefore they which

2 Tim. iii. 14.

Verſe 15.

which add Traditions, as a part of ſupernatural neceſſary truth, have not the truth, but are in error. For they only plead, that whatſoever God revealeth as neceſſary for all Chriſtian men to do or believe, the ſame we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwiſe, which no man denieth; when that which they ſhould confirm, who claim ſo great reverence unto Traditions, is, that the ſame Traditions are neceſſary to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them only becauſe they are not in the Scripture, but becauſe they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwiſe ſufficiently by any reaſon be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be ſo, we deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the ſelf-ſame force and authority with the written Laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *That the Apoſtles did in every Church inſtitute and ordain ſome rites and cuſtoms, ſerving for the ſeemlineſs of Church-regiment: which rites and cuſtoms they have not committed unto writing.* Thoſe rites and cuſtoms being known to be Apoſtolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no leſs to be accounted of in the Church, than other things of the like degree; that is to ſay, capable in like ſort of alteration, although ſet down in the Apoſtles' writings. For both being known to be Apoſtolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Whitakerus adverſus Bellarmin. quæſt. 6. cap. 6.

15. Laws being impoſed either by each man upon himſelf, or by a public ſociety upon the particulars thereof; or by all the nations of men upon every ſeveral ſociety; or by the Lord himſelf upon any or every of theſe; there is not amongſt theſe four kinds any one, but containeth ſundry both natural and poſitive Laws. Impoſſible it is, but that they ſhould fall into a number of errors, who only take ſuch

Of Laws poſitive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general uſe of Scripture.

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Angels, and holy men. Again, the Church being both a ſociety, and a ſociety ſupernatural; although as it is a ſociety, it have the ſelf-ſame original grounds which other politic ſocieties have, namely, the natural inclination which all men have unto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certain bond of aſſociation; which bond is the Law that appointeth what kind of order they ſhall be aſſociated in; yet unto the Church, as it is a ſociety ſupernatural, this is peculiar; that part of the bond of their aſſociation which belongs to the Church of God, muſt be a Law ſupernatural, which God himſelf hath revealed concerning that kind of worſhip which his people ſhall do unto him. The ſubſtance of the ſervice of God therefore, ſo far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of Reaſon doth teach, may not be invented of men, as it is amongſt the Heathens[a]; but muſt be received from God himſelf, as always it hath been in the Church, ſaving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty. Wherefore to end with a general rule concerning all the Laws which God hath tied men unto: thoſe Laws divine that belong, whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in politic ſociety, or to men as they are of that politic ſociety which is the Church, without any further reſpect had unto any ſuch variable accident, as the eſtate of men, and of ſocieties of men, and of the Church itſelf in this world is ſubject unto; all Laws that ſo belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea, although they be poſitive Laws, unleſs being poſitive, God himſelf, which made them, alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubject or matter of Laws in general is thus far forth conſtant: which matter is that for the ordering whereof Laws were inſtituted, and being inſtituted,

[a] Iſa. xxix. 13. Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of men.

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are not changeable without cauſe, neither can they have cauſe of change, when that which gave them firſt inſtitution remaineth for ever one and the ſame. On the other ſide, Laws that were made for men or ſocieties or Churches in regard of their being ſuch, as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwiſe awhile after, and ſo may require to be otherwiſe ordered than before; the Laws of God himſelf, which are of this nature, no man endued with common ſenſe will ever deny to be of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the one's conſtancy, and the mutability of the other. And this doth ſeem to have been the very cauſe why St. John doth ſo peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, *Evangelium æternum*, *An eternal Goſpel*; becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore the publiſhing thereof ſhould be taken away, and any other inſtead of it proclaimed, as long as the world doth continue: whereas the whole Law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with ſo great ſolemnity, is notwithſtanding clean abrogated, inaſmuch as it had but temporary cauſe of God's ordaining it. But that we may at length conclude this firſt general introduction unto the nature and original birth, as of all other Laws, ſo likewiſe of thoſe which the ſacred Scripture containeth, concerning the Author whereof, even infidels have confeſſed, that he can neither err nor deceive [a]; albeit, about things eaſy and manifeſt unto all men by common ſenſe there needeth no higher conſultation; becauſe as a man, whoſe wiſdom is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in ſome diſdain to have his counſel ſolemnly aſked about a toy; ſo the meanneſs of ſome things is ſuch, that to ſearch the Scripture

Apoc. xiv. 6.

[a] Κομιδῇ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλῶν τῷ ἀληθὶς ἴν τι ἔργῳ τῷ ἐν λόγῳ, τῷ ὅτι αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, οὔτε ἄλλες ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγες, οὔτε κατὰ σημεῖων πομπὰς, οὐδ' ὑπὰρ ἐδ' ὕπαρ. Plat. in fine 2 Polit.

of

of God for the ordering of them were to derogate from the reverend authority and dignity of the Scripture, no leſs than they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childiſh trifles; yet better it were to be ſuperſtitious than profane; to take from thence our direction even in all things great or ſmall, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the Law of God hath either for or againſt our deſigns. Concerning the cuſtom of the very Paynims, thus much Strabo witneſſeth, [a] *Men that are civil do lead their lives after one common Law appointing them what to do. For that otherwiſe a multitude ſhould with harmony amongſt themſelves concur in the doing of one thing, (for this is civilly to live,) or that they ſhould in any ſort manage community of life, it is not poſſible. Now Laws or Statutes are of two ſorts. For they are either received from Gods, or elſe from men. And our ancient predeceſſors did ſurely moſt honour and reverence that which was from the Gods. For which cauſe, conſultation with Oracles was a thing very uſual and frequent in their times.* Did they make ſo much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and ſhall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with thoſe Oracles of the true and living God, whereof ſo great ſtore is left to the Church, and whereunto there is ſo free, ſo plain, and ſo eaſy acceſs for all men? *By thy commandments* (this was David's confeſſion unto God) *thou haſt made me wiſer than mine enemies.* Again, *I have had more underſtanding than all my teachers, becauſe thy teſtimonies are my meditations.* What pains would not they have beſtowed in the ſtudy of theſe books, who

Pſ. cxix. 98.

[a] Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προςάγματος κοινῇ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔν τι κατὰ ταυτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόςαγμα δίττον, ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μάλλον, καὶ ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηςηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολύς. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi.

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travelled ſea and land to gain the treaſure of ſome few days talk with men whoſe wiſdom the world did make any reckoning of? That little which ſome of the Heathens did chance to hear concerning ſuch matter as the ſacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful ſort affect; their ſpeeches, as oft as they make mention thereof, are ſtrange, and ſuch as themſelves could not utter as they did other things, but ſtill acknowledged that their wits, which did every where elſe conquer hardneſs, were with profoundneſs here over-matched. Wherefore ſeeing that God hath endued us with ſenſe, to the end that we might perceive ſuch things as this preſent life doth need; and with Reaſon, leſt that which ſenſe cannot reach unto, being both now and alſo in regard of a future eſtate hereafter neceſſary to be known, ſhould lie obſcure; finally, with the heavenly ſupport of [a] prophetical Revelation, which doth open thoſe hidden myſteries that Reaſon could never have been able to find out, or to have known the neceſſity of them unto our everlaſting good: uſe we the precious gifts of God unto his glory and honour that gave them, ſeeking by all means to know what the will of our God is; what righteous before him; in his ſight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

Vide Orphei Carmina.

A concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

16. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force Laws are, according unto their ſeveral kinds: the Law which God with himſelf hath eternally ſet down to follow in his own works: the Law which he hath made for his creatures to keep: the Law of natural and neceſſary agents; the Law which Angels in heaven obey; the Law whereunto by the light of Reaſon, men find themſelves bound, in that they are men:

[a] Ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται πρὸς ταῦθ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. Philo de Moſ.

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the Law which they make by compoſition for multitudes and politic ſocieties of men to be guided by; the Law which belongeth unto each nation: the Law that concerneth the fellowſhip of all: and laſtly, the Law which God himſelf hath ſupernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more plauſible to vulgar ears, if this firſt diſcourſe had been ſpent in extolling the force of Laws, in ſhewing the great neceſſity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence, by whom public Laws are injuriouſly traduced. But foraſmuch as with ſuch kind of matter the paſſions of men are rather ſtirred one way or other, than their knowledge any way ſet forward unto the trial of that whereof there is doubt made; I have therefore turned aſide from that beaten path, and choſen, though a leſs eaſy, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propoſe. Leſt therefore any man ſhould marvel whereunto all theſe things tend, the drift and purpoſe of all is this, even to ſhew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect Laws is derived from the Father of lights, to teach men a reaſon why juſt and reaſonable Laws are of ſo great force, of ſo great uſe in the world; and to inform their minds with ſome method of reducing the Laws, whereof there is preſent controverſy, unto their firſt original cauſes, that ſo it may be in every particular ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable, juſt, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thoroughly underſtood or ſoundly judged of till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth be made manifeſt? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wiſe men to be then moſt orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their firſt original; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the quality of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, let it not ſeem a labour ſuperfluous, that in the

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Jam. i. 17.

Ariſt. Phyſ. lib. i. cap. 1.

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the entrance thereunto, all these several kinds of Laws have been considered; inasmuch as they all concur as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner; by means whereof it cometh to pass, that the force which they have is not observed of many. Easier a great deal it is for men by Law to be taught what they ought to do, than instructed how to judge as they should do of Law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a Law is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him [a]. But if we will give judgment of the Laws under which we live; first, let that Law eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful estimation of all Laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt, but that Laws apparently good are (as it were) things copied out of the very tables of that high and everlasting Law, even as the book of that Law hath said concerning itself, *By me kings reign, and by me princes decree justice.* Not as if men did behold that book, and accordingly frame their Laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth, and (as it were) readeth itself to the world by them, when the Laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of Laws made; nevertheless, sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not; should not this breed a fear into our hearts how we speak or judge in the worst part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonour to him towards whom

Prov. viii. 15.

[a] Arist. Ethic. 10. Τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς, μέγιστον. Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.

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we profeſs all ſubmiſſion and awe? Surely there muſt be very manifeſt iniquity in Laws againſt which we ſhall be able to juſtify our contumelious invectives. The chiefeſt root whereof, when we uſe them without cauſe, is ignorance how Laws inferior are derived from that ſupreme or higheſt Law. The firſt that receive impreſſion from thence are natural agents. The Law of whoſe operations might be haply thought leſs pertinent, when the queſtion is about Laws for human actions, but that in thoſe very actions which moſt ſpiritually and ſupernaturally concern men, the rules and axioms of natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our ſalvation, than our perſuaſion concerning the Law of Chriſt towards his Church? What greater aſſurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that myſtical union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Chriſt as any one part of his fleſh is unto another? That the Church being in ſuch ſort his, he muſt needs protect it; what proof more ſtrong, than if a manifeſt Law ſo require, which Law it is not poſſible for Chriſt to violate? And what other Law doth the Apoſtle for this allege, but ſuch as is both common unto Chriſt with us, and unto us with other things natural; *No man hateth his own fleſh, but doth love and cheriſh it.* The Axioms of that Law therefore, whereby natural agents are guided, have their uſe in the moral, yea, even in the ſpiritual actions of men, and conſequently in all Laws belonging unto men howſoever. Neither are the Angels themſelves ſo far ſevered from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the Law of their heavenly operations and the actions of men in this our ſtate of mortality, ſuch correſpondence there is as maketh it expedient to know in ſome ſort the one for the other's more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themſelves fellow-ſervants with the ſons of men, but that both having one Lord, there

Epheſ. v. 29.

Apoc. xix. 10.

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there muſt be ſome kind of Law which is one and the ſame to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker both a pattern and a ſpur? Or would the Apoſtles, ſpeaking of that which belongeth unto ſaints as they are linked together in the bond of ſpiritual ſociety, ſo often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted, if in things publickly done by the Church we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of heaven do? Yea, ſo far hath the Apoſtle St. Paul proceeded, as to ſignify that even about the outward orders of the Church, which ſerve but for comelineſs, ſome regard is to be had of Angels, who beſt like us when we are moſt like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the Law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God. Our largeneſs of ſpeech how men do find out what things Reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerve, and what it guideth them to chooſe in things which are left as arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different nature of Laws which ſeverally concern all men, from ſuch as belong unto men either civilly or ſpiritually aſſociated; ſuch as pertain to the fellowſhip which nations, or which Chriſtian nations have amongſt themſelves; and in the laſt place, ſuch as concerning every or any of theſe, God himſelf hath revealed by his holy Word; all ſerveth but to make manifeſt, that as the actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kinds, ſo the Laws thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations, ſome natural, ſome rational, ſome ſupernatural, ſome politic, ſome finally eccleſiaſtical: which if we meaſure not each by his own proper Law, whereas the things themſelves are ſo different, there will be in our underſtanding and judgment of them, confuſion. As that firſt error ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe have grounded themſelves: for as they rightly maintain, that God muſt be glorified in all things, and that the

1 Pet. i. 12. Epheſ. iii. 10. 1 Tim. v. 21. 1 Cor. xi. 10.

actions

actions of men cannot tend unto his glory unleſs they be framed after his Law; ſo it is their error to think that the only Law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the ſacred Scripture. By that which we work naturally, as when we breathe, ſleep, move, we ſet forth the glory of God as natural agents do, albeit we have no expreſs purpoſe to make that our end, nor any adviſed determination therein to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and moral actions another Law taketh place; a Law, by the obſervation whereof we glorify God in ſuch ſort, as no creature elſe under man is able to do; becauſe other creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them, and therefore in that they do they neither can accuſe nor approve themſelves. Men do both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea, thoſe men which have no written Law of God to ſhew what is good or evil, carry written in their hearts the univerſal Law of mankind, the Law of Reaſon, whereby they judge as by a rule which God has given unto all men for that purpoſe. The Law of Reaſon doth ſomewhat direct men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to glorify God in ſuch ſort as is required, to the end he may be an everlaſting Saviour, this we are taught by divine Law, which Law both aſcertaineth the truth, and ſupplieth unto us the want of that other Law. So that in moral actions, divine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of Reaſon to guide man's life; but in ſupernatural it alone guideth. Proceed we further; let us place man in ſome public ſociety with others, whether civil or ſpiritual; and in this caſe there is no remedy, but we muſt add yet a further Law. For although, even here likewiſe, the Laws of Nature and Reaſon be of neceſſary uſe; yet ſomewhat over and beſides them is neceſſary, namely, human and poſitive Law, together with that Law which is of

BOOK I.

Pſ. cxlviii. 7, 8, 9.

Rom. i. 21.

Rom. ii. 15.

commerce

BOOK I.

commerce between grand ſocieties, the Law of Nations, and of nations Chriſtian. For which cauſe, the Law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* The public power of all ſocieties is above every ſoul contained in the ſame ſocieties. And the principal uſe of that power is to give Laws unto all that are under it; which Laws in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, unleſs there be reaſon ſhewed which may neceſſarily inforce, that the Law of Reaſon or of God doth enjoin the contrary: becauſe, except our own private and but probable reſolutions be by the Law of public determinations over-ruled, we take away all poſſibility of ſociable life in the world. A plainer example whereof than ourſelves we cannot have. How cometh it to paſs, that we are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Polity of the Church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many Laws their actions in this life are ſubject unto, and what the true force of each Law is, all theſe controverſies might have died the very day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truly, that the beſt men otherwiſe are not always the beſt in regard of ſociety. The reaſon whereof is, for that the Law of men's actions is one, if they be reſpected only as men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a politic body. Many men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled; and yet in ſociety with others, none leſs fit to anſwer the duties which are looked for at their hands[a]. Yea, I am perſuaded, that of them, with whom in this cauſe we ſtrive, there are whoſe betters among men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongſt men, but in ſome wilderneſs by themſelves. The cauſe of which their

Rom. xiii. 1.

[a] Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. Ariſt. Ethic. lib. v. cap. 3.

dif-

diſpoſition ſo unframable unto ſocieties wherein they live is, for that they diſcern not aright what place and force theſe ſeveral kinds of Laws ought to have in all their actions. Is their queſtion either concerning the regiment of the Church in general, or about conformity between one Church and another, or of ceremonies, offices, powers, juriſdictions in our own Church? of all theſe things, they judge by that rule which they frame to themſelves with ſome ſhew of probability; and what ſeemeth in that ſort convenient, the ſame they think themſelves bound to practiſe; the ſame by all means they labour mightily to uphold; whatſoever any Law of man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the Law of private Reaſon, where the Law of public ſhould take place, they breed diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of men's minds with the true diſtinction of Laws, and of their ſeveral force, according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it ſhall not peradventure be amiſs to ſhew in ſome one example, how they ſhall take place. To ſeek no further, let but that be conſidered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are food, and what are not, we judge naturally by ſenſe; neither need we any other Law to be our director in that behalf than the ſelf-ſame which is common unto us with beaſts. But when we come to conſider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſs hath provided for all things living; the Law of Reaſon doth here require the duty of thankfulneſs at our hands towards him, at whoſe hands we have it. And leſt appetite in the uſe of food ſhould lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this caſe obedience to that Law of Reaſon, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The ſame things divine Laws teacheth alſo, as at large we have ſhewed it doth all parts of moral duty, whereunto we all of neceſſity ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come

Job xxxiv. 3.

Pſal. cxlv. 15, 16.

BOOK I. But of certain kinds of food the Jews ſometimes had, and we ourſelves likewiſe have a myſtical, religious, and ſupernatural uſe; they of their Paſchal Lamb and Oblations; we of our Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt; which uſe none but divine Law could inſtitute. Now as we live in civil ſociety, the ſtate of the commonwealth wherein we live both may and doth require certain Laws concerning food; which Laws, ſaving only that we are members of the commonwealth, where they are of force, we ſhould not need to reſpect as rules of action; whereas now in their place and kind they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelf-ſame matter is alſo a ſubject wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſtical Laws have place; ſo that unleſs we will be authors of confuſion in the Church, our private diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide us a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit itſelf to be that way guided, which the public judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe, that of Zonaras concerning Faſts may be remembered. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his faſting the orders of the holy Fathers*, the poſitive Laws of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainly told, [a] *that good things do loſe the grace of their goodneſs, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here men's private fancies muſt give place to the higher judgment of that Church, which is in authority a mother over them; ſo the very actions of whole Churches have, in regard of commerce and fellowſhip with other Churches, been ſubject to Laws concerning food, the contrary unto which Laws had elſe been thought more convenient for them to obſerve; as by that order of abſtinence from ſtrangled and blood may appear; an order grounded upon that fellowſhip

Acts xv. 20.

[a] Ὅτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται. Zonar. in Can. Apoſt. 66.

which

which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews. Thus we ſee how even one and the ſelf-ſame thing is under divers conſiderations conveyed through many Laws; and that to meaſure by any one kind of Law all the actions of men, were to confound the admirable order wherein God hath diſpoſed all Laws, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefly end: Of Law there can be no leſs acknowledged, than that her ſeat is the boſom of God, her voice the harmony of the world: all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her power: both Angels, and Men, and creatures of what condition ſoever, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with uniform conſent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy. BOOK I.

End of the Firſt Book.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK II.

Concerning their first Position who urge Reformation in the Church of England: namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things, which in this life may be done by men.

The Matter contained in this Second Book.

1. *An Answer to their first Proof brought out of holy Scripture*, Prov. ii. 9.
2. *To their second*, 1 Cor. x. 31.
3. *To their third*, 1 Tim. iv. 5.
4. *To their fourth*, Rom. xiv. 23.
5. *To their Proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from the authority of holy Scripture.*
6. *To their Proof by the Scripture's custom of disputing from divine authority negatively.*

7. *An*

BOOK II.

7. *An examination of their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions and perſuaſions.*
8. *A declaration what the truth is in this matter.*

AS that which in the title hath been propoſed for the matter whereof we treat is only the Eccleſiaſtical Law whereby we are governed; ſo neither is it my purpoſe to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and Reaſon ſhall approve. For concerning the dealings of men who adminiſter government, and unto whom the execution of that Law belongeth, they have their Judge who ſitteth in Heaven, and before whoſe tribunal-ſeat they are accountable for whatſoever abuſe or corruption, which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want either of care or of conſcience in them hath bred. We are no patrons of thoſe things therefore; the beſt defence whereof is ſpeedy redreſs and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the uttermoſt of that ability which he hath given: that which is otherwiſe, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath ſprung. Wherefore all theſe abuſes being ſevered and ſet apart, which riſe from the corruption of men, and not from the Laws themſelves: come we to thoſe things which in the very whole entire form of our Church-polity have been (as we perſuade ourſelves) injurioufly blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the ſame, and inſtead thereof to eſtabliſh a much worſe; only through a ſtrong miſconceit they have, that the ſame is grounded on divine authority. Now, whether it be that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end, I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend to be fewer than

than indeed they are; or elſe for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be diſcuſſed by reaſon, than otherwiſe they ſeem when by heat of contention they are divided into many ſlips, and of every branch an heap is made: ſurely, as now we have drawn them together, chooſing out thoſe things which are requiſite to be ſeverally all diſcuſſed, and omitting ſuch mean ſpecialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themſelves; I know no cauſe why either the number or the length of theſe controverſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and love on all ſides; which of his infinite love and goodneſs the Father of all peace and unity grant. Unto which ſcope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe things be examined, which are as ſeeds from whence the reſt that enſue have grown. And of ſuch the moſt general is that, wherewith we are here to make our entrance: a queſtion not moved (I think) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be ſoon (I truſt) determined; the rather for that it hath grown from no other root than only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſary uſe of the Word of God; which deſire hath begotten an error, enlarging it further than (as we are perſuaded) ſoundneſs of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left ſundry kinds of Laws unto men, and by all thoſe Laws the actions of men are in ſome ſort directed; they hold that one only Law, the Scripture, muſt be the rule to direct in all things, even ſo far as to the taking up of a ruſh or ſtraw. About which point there ſhould not need any queſtion to grow, and that which is grown might preſently end, if they did yield but to theſe two reſtraints. The firſt is, not to extend the actions whereof they ſpeak, ſo low as that inſtance doth import of taking up a ſtraw, but rather keep themſelves at the leaſt within the compaſs of moral actions, actions which have in them vice or virtue. The

T. C. l. i. p. 59, 60.

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ſecond, not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of ſome place of Scripture out of which we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by divers teſtimonies they ſeek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the Law of Reaſon; the general axioms, rules, and principles of which Law, being ſo frequent in holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, even out of Scripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kind of conſequence, (as by long circuit of deduction it may be that even all truth out of any truth may be concluded;) howbeit no man is bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as unlawful. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

The firſt pretended proof of the firſt Poſition out of Scripture.

1. In all parts of knowledge, rightly ſo termed, things moſt general are moſt ſtrong. Thus it muſt be inaſmuch as the certainty of our perſuaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of thoſe generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cauſe admit not ſuch infallible evidence of proof as leaveth no poſſibility of doubt or ſcruple behind it; yet they who claim the general aſſent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy ſentence upon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt have ſpecial regard that their firſt foundations and grounds be more than ſlender probabilities. This whole queſtion which hath been moved about the kind of Church-regiment we could not but for our own reſolution take endeavour to unrip and ſift; following therein, as near as we might, the conduct of that judicial method which ſerveth beſt for invention of truth. By means whereof, having found this the head Theorem of all their diſcourſes, who

who plead for the change of Eccleſiaſtical Government in England, namely, *That the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of human actions, that ſimply whatſoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſin*; we hold it neceſſary that the proofs hereof be weighed. Be they of weight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are which as yet withhold our aſſent till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorn or refuſe to hear. Firſt, therefore, whereas they allege, *That Wiſdom* doth teach men *every good way* [a]; and have thereupon inferred that no way is good in any kind of action unleſs Wiſdom do by Scripture lead unto it; ſee they not plainly how they reſtrain the manifold ways which Wiſdom hath to teach men by unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of Wiſdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſdom was Adam's inſtructor in Paradiſe. Wiſdom endued the Fathers who lived before the Law with the knowledge of holy things; by the Wiſdom of the Law of God, David attained to excel others in underſtanding, and Solomon likewiſe to excel David by the ſelf-ſame Wiſdom of God, teaching him many things beſides the Law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions; ſo that whatſoever we do in this world, and may do it ill, we ſhew ourſelves therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if Wiſdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in ſome certain kind, according to that of St. Paul [b] con-

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Prov. ii. 9.

Pſal. cxix. 99.

[a] T. C. l. j. p. 20. I ſay, that the Word of God containeth whatſoever things can fall into any part of man's life. For ſo Solomon ſaith in the ſecond chapter of the Proverbs, *My ſon, if thou receive my words, &c. then ſhalt underſtand juſtice, and judgment, and equity, and every good way.*

[b] 2 Tim. iii. 16. *The whole Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to inſtruct in*

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cerning the uſe of Scripture, but did ſimply, without any manner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction, teach every way of doing well, there is no art but Scripture ſhould teach it, becauſe every art doth teach the way how to do ſomething or other well. To teach men therefore Wiſdom profeſſeth, and to teach them every good way; but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatſoever either Men on Earth, or the Angels of Heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable fountain of Wiſdom; which Wiſdom hath diverſely imparted her treaſures unto the world. As her ways are of ſundry kinds, ſo her manner of teaching is not merely one and the ſame. Some things ſhe openeth by the ſacred books of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious works of Nature; with ſome things ſhe inſpireth them from above by ſpiritual influence; in ſome things ſhe leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not ſo in any one ſpecial kind admire her that we diſgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

The ſecond Proof out of Scripture.

2. That *all things be done to the glory of God*[a], the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that virtue

in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect unto all good works. He meaneth all and only thoſe good works which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto ſalvation are neceſſary. Or if we underſtand by *men of God*, God's Miniſters, there is not required in them an univerſal ſkill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatſoever men are bound to do that they may be ſaved: and with this kind of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

[a] 1 Cor. x. 31. T. C. l. i. p. 26. St. Paul ſaith, that *whether we eat or drink, or whatſoever we do, we muſt do it to the glory of God.* But no man can glorify God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in reſpect of the commandment and word of God; therefore it followeth that the word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

divine,

divine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth Men and Angels to extol his greatneſs, and in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant, that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his Name we glorify, when we teſtify our acknowledgment of his glory. Which albeit we moſt effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheleſs it may be perhaps a queſtion, whether St. Paul did mean that we ſin as oft as ever we go about any thing without an expreſs intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſaith of himſelf, *I do in all things pleaſe all men, ſeeking not mine own commodity, but* rather the good *of many, that they may be ſaved.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that St. Paul did not move either hand or foot, but with expreſs intent even thereby to further the common ſalvation of men? We move, we ſleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do only to ſatisfy ſome natural deſire, without preſent, expreſs, and actual reference unto any commandment of God. Unto his glory even theſe things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and ſpiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of Nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſity we ſhall ſin unleſs we expreſsly intend this in every ſuch particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general preſuppoſed willingneſs to pleaſe God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot ſo glorify the Name of God as we ſhould, without an actual intent to do him in that particular ſome ſpecial obedience; yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alleged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent deſire to fulfil that Law which maketh known what his will is, although no ſpecial clauſe or ſentence of Scripture be in every ſuch action

1 Cor. x. 33.

ſet

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ſet before men's eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only Law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kind of Laws which notify the will of God, as in the former book hath been proved at large; nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory.

1 Cor. x. 31, 32, 33. *Do therefore all things unto the glory of God,* (ſaith the Apoſtle,) *be inoffenſive both to the Jews and Grecians, and the Church of God; even as I pleaſe all men in all things, not ſeeking mine own commodity, but many's, that they may be ſaved.* In the leaſt thing done diſobediently towards God or offenſively againſt the good of men, whoſe benefit we ought to ſeek for as for our own, we plainly ſhew that we do not acknowledge God to be ſuch as indeed he is, and conſequently that we glorify him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth; but doth any Apoſtle teach that we cannot glorify God otherwiſe than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth us to do? The Churches diſperſed among the Heathen in the eaſt part of the world are by the Apoſtle St.

1 Pet. ii. 12. Peter exhorted to have their *converſation honeſt among the Gentiles, that they, which ſpeak evil of them as of evil-doers, might by the good works, which they ſhould ſee, glorify God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubject unto juſt reproof, their virtuous converſation was a mean to work the Heathen's converſion unto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelves did diſcern in matters of life and converſation, when Believers did well and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their heavenly Father, and when not: it followeth, that ſome things wherein God is glorified may be ſome other way known than only by the ſacred Scripture; [illegible] the Gentiles being utterly [illegible] notwithſtanding judge rightly of the [illegible] men's actions. Moſt certain it is,

is, that nothing but only ſin doth diſhonour God. So that to glorify him in all things, is to do nothing whereby the Name of God may be blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſalvation of Jew or Grecian, or any in the Church of Chriſt, may be let or hindered; nothing whereby his Law is tranſgreſſed. But the queſtion is, whether only Scripture do ſhew whatſoever God is glorified in?

Rom. ii. 24. 1 Cor. x. 32. Rom. ii. 23.

3. And though meats and drinks be ſaid to be ſanctified by the word of God and by prayer; yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to prove, that by Scripture we muſt of neceſſity be directed in every light and common thing which is incident unto any part of man's life. Only it ſheweth, that unto us the word, that is to ſay, the Goſpel of Chriſt, having not delivered any ſuch difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of Moſes did unto the Jews, there is no cauſe but that we may uſe indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like ſwine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of his liberality and goodneſs by whoſe providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apoſtle gave warning beforehand to take heed of ſuch as ſhould enjoin to *abſtain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving, by them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be received with thankſgiving, becauſe it is ſanctified by the word of God and prayer.* The Goſpel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath ſanctified thoſe things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himſelf muſt ſanctify by a reverend and holy uſe. Which will hardly be drawn ſo far as to ſerve their purpoſe, who have imagined the word in ſuch ſort to ſanctify all things, that neither food can be taſted nor raiment put on, nor in the world any thing done, but this deed muſt needs be ſin in them which do not firſt know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

The third Scripture-proof, 1 Tim. iv. 5. and that which St. Paul ſaid of meats and drinks, that they are ſanctified unto us by the word of God, the ſame is to be underſtood of all things elſe whatſoever we have, the uſe of. T. C. l. i. p. 26. 1 Tim. iv.

4. But

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4. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood upon; that place of St. Paul, they ſay, is of all other moſt clear, where *ſpeaking of thoſe things which are called indifferent,* in the end he concludeth, *That whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin; but faith is not but in reſpect of the word of God; therefore whatſoever is not done by the word of God, is ſin.* Whereunto we anſwer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needs have reference unto ſome uttered word as the object of belief: nevertheleſs, ſith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer, or by the manifeſt likelihood of truth which they have in themſelves; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoever we are perſuaded of, the ſame we are generally ſaid to believe. In which generality the object of Faith may not ſo narrowly be reſtrained, as if the ſame did extend no further than only to the Scriptures of God. *Though* (ſaith our Saviour) *ye believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him. The other diſciples ſaid unto* Thomas, *We have ſeen the Lord*; but his anſwer unto them was, *Except I ſee in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not believe.* Can there be any thing more plain, than that which by theſe two ſentences appeareth; namely, that there may be a certain belief grounded upon other aſſurance than Scripture; any thing more clear, than that we are not ſaid only to believe the things which we know by another's relation, but even whatſoever we are certainly perſuaded of, whether it be by Reaſon or by ſenſe? Foraſmuch therefore as [a] it is

The fourth Scripture-proof, Rom. xiv. 23. T. C. l. i. p. 27.

Pſal. xix. 8. Apoc. iii. 14. 2 Cor. i. 18.

John x. 38.

John xx. 25.

[a] ... will ſay, that St. Paul meaneth there a full ... ſation that that which he doth is well done, I ... whence can that ſpring but from faith? How ... aſſure ourſelves that we do well, but whereas

granted that St. Paul doth mean nothing elſe by Faith, but only a full perſuaſion that that which we do is well done; againſt which kind of Faith or perſuaſion, as St. Paul doth count it ſin to enterprize any thing, [a] ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen have taught, as Tully, *That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt, whether it be right or wrong*; whereby it appeareth that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man; I hope we ſhall not ſeem altogether unneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſs of their opinion, who think ſimply that nothing but only the word of God can give us aſſurance in any thing we are to do, and reſolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully perſuaded that they did well to think (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the Father was, although the only ground of this their faith, had been the wonderful works they ſaw him do? Might not, yea, did not Thomas fully in the end perſuade himſelf, that he did well to think that body which now was raiſed, to be the ſame which had been crucified? That which gave Thomas this aſſurance was his ſenſe; *Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeen, thou believeſt*, ſaith our Saviour. What Scripture had Tully for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who allege him, think he did well to ſet down in

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John. xx. 29.

whereas we have the word of God for our warrant? T. C. l. i. p. 27.

[a] What alſo that ſome even of thoſe Heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubteſt, whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian man: and that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the ſchool of Chriſt in his word, which only is able through faith to give them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings, T. C. l. i. p. 60.

writing

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writing a thing ſo conſonant unto truth. Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are ſacred, and that they have proceeded from God, ourſelves we aſſure that we do right well in ſo believing. We have for this point a demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure us, that we do well to think it his word. For if any one book of Scripture did give teſtimony to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giveth credit to the reſt, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we ever come unto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way; ſo that unleſs beſides Scripture there were ſomething which might aſſure us that we do well, we could not think we do well; no, not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy rule of well-doing. On which determination we might be contented to ſtay ourſelves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger ſpeech by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtneſs, who beat more and more upon theſe laſt alleged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas there-

T. C. l. ii. p. 58.

fore they ſtill argue, That *whereſoever faith is wanting, there is ſin*; and, *in every action not commanded, faith is wanting*; ergo, *in every action not commanded, there is ſin*; I would demand of them; firſt, foraſmuch as the nature of things indifferent is neither to be commanded nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of faith ſin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done? So that of neceſſity they muſt add ſomewhat, and at leaſtwiſe thus ſet it down: In every action not commanded of God, or permitted with approbation, faith is wanting, and for want of faith there is ſin. The next thing we are to enquire is, what thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be ſo permitted? When there are ſundry means; as for example, for the ſuſtenance

ſuſtenance of our bodies many kinds of food, many ſorts of raiment to clothe our nakedneſs, and ſo in other things of like condition: here the end of itſelf being neceſſary, but not ſo any one mean thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould be both fed and clothed, howbeit no one kind of food or raiment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own diſcretion, except a principal bond of ſome higher duty remove the indifferency that ſuch things have in themſelves. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as Ananias did, for whom to have ſold or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent till his ſolemn vow and promiſe unto God had ſtrictly bound him one only way; or if God himſelf have preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining us unto, or by barring us from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelves altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of prieſtly attire there were, whereof Aaron and his ſons might have had their free choice without ſin, but that God expreſsly tied them unto one. All meats indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as ſwine's fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone. *All things are lawful unto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent; whereunto his anſwer is, that nevertheleſs, *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawful, becauſe they are permitted, the queſtion is, what light ſhall ſhew us the conveniency which one hath above another? For anſwer, their final determination is, that *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of*

Acts v.

Exod. xxviii. 4, 43. and xxxix. 1, 43. Levit. xi.

1 Cor. vi. 12.

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good and evil to the light of Reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth us to the ſchool of Chriſt in his word, which only is able through faith to give us aſſurance and reſolution in our doings. Which word *only*, is utterly without poſſibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unleſs the word of the Lord had determined of the free uſe of them, there could have been no lawful uſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is untrue; becauſe it is not the Scripture's ſetting down ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting down as neceſſary that doth make them to be indifferent; yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerveth nothing at all. We enquire not now, whether any thing be free to be uſed which Scripture hath not ſet down as free? but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in chooſing any one of them before another, we ſin, if any thing but Scripture direct us in this our choice. When many meats are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as moſt convenient. If Scripture require me ſo to do, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any; Scripture doth not require of me to make any ſpecial choice of one; I do notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to do. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be juſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any man think that following the judgment of natural diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can have no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in natural ſort, be in that reſpect unacceptable? The nature which himſelf hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exercise the ſame any way, without commandment of his to the contrary. My deſire is to make this caſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame might remain

main in any man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter. As it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was living on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinful ſtain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world unto the laſt conſummation thereof it neither hath been, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now, and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is for want of faith ſin. Then let them caſt back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the world. Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job, and the reſt that lived before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his ſacred word, the ſame he was unto them by ſuch like means as Eliphaz in Job deſcribeth. If therefore we ſin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not; it followeth that they did the like in all ſuch actions as were not by revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands. Unleſs God from Heaven did by viſion ſtill ſhew them what to do, they might do nothing, not eat, not drink, not ſleep, not move. Yea, but even as in darkneſs, candle-light may ſerve to guide men's ſteps, which to uſe in the day were madneſs; ſo when God hath once delivered his Law in writing, it may be they are of opinion, that then it muſt needs be ſin for men to do any thing which was not there commanded for them to do, whatſoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it ſhall thereupon plainly enſue, either that the light of Scripture

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Job iv. 12.

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once ſhining in the world, all other light of Nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer uſe it; or if it ſtand us in any ſtead, yet as Ariſtotle ſpeaketh of men whom Nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſervitude, ſaying, *They have reaſon ſo far forth as to conceive when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelves by themſelves; ſo likewiſe our natural capacity and judgment muſt ſerve us only for the right underſtanding of that which the ſacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded Moſes, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, been ſettled in this perſuaſion, never would they have taken ſo great pains in gathering together natural arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their duties. To uſe unto them any other motive than *Scriptum eſt*, *Thus it is written*, had been to teach them other grounds of their actions than Scripture; which, I grant, they allege commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they ſhould have alleged, had they been thus perſuaded, that ſo far forth we do ſin as we do any thing otherwiſe directed than by Scripture. St. Auguſtine was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credit none, how godly and learned ſoever he were, unleſs he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them*. Let them therefore with St. Auguſtine reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

Ariſt. Pol. i.

Auguſt. Ep. 18.

The firſt Aſſertion endeavoured to be proved by the uſe of taking Arguments negatively from the authority of Scripture; which kind of diſputing [illegible] in the Fathers.

5. But againſt this it may be objected, and is, that the Fathers do nothing more uſually in their books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil; *Scriptures* [illegible] *it therefore*. Theſe diſputes with [illegible] ordinary, neither is it hard to ſhew [illegible] themſelves have ſo reaſoned. Which

Which arguments being found and good, it ſhould ſeem that it cannot be unſound or evil to hold ſtill the ſame aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we have diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, ſuch a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it; how ſhould it ſeem unreaſonable to think that whatſoever we may lawfully do the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawful. But how far ſuch arguments do reach, it ſhall the better appear by conſidering the matter wherein they have been urged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantly deny, that of ſo many teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of negative arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemn either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as unlawful, which the Scripture teacheth us not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is only, that in ſome caſes a negative argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong, whereof no man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome negative argument prove this kind of negative argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not condemned? The queſtion between us is concerning matter of action, what things are lawful or unlawful for men to do. The ſentences alleged out of the Fathers are as peremptory, and as large in every reſpect for matter of opinion, as of action. Which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwiſe to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the ſame kind of neceſſity unto ſalvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know, and with full perſuaſion to believe much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all ſenſe and reaſon to condemn the knowledge of ſo many arts and ſciences as are otherwiſe learned than in holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt ſpeeches

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of ancient Catholic Fathers, which ſeem to cloſe up within the boſom thereof all manner of good and lawful knowledge, wherefore ſhould their words be thought more effectual to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in ſpeculation and knowledge we ought not to go any farther than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief, no leſs than of action, the Fathers muſt needs be, and are even as plain againſt credit beſides the relation, as againſt practice without the injunction of the Scripture. St. Auguſtine hath ſaid, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoever the queſtion be; I ſay not, if we, but if an Angel from heaven ſhall tell us any thing beſide that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and the Goſpel, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort Tertullian, *We may not give ourſelves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor chooſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the Apoſtles themſelves for authors, which themſelves brought nothing of their own will; but the diſcipline which they received of Chriſt, they delivered faithfully unto the people*[a]. In which place the name of diſcipline importeth not, as they who allege it would fain have it conſtrued, but as any man (who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of uttering the words) will eaſily acknowledge, even the ſelf-ſame thing it ſignifieth which the name of doctrine doth; and as well might the one as the other there have been uſed. To help them farther, doth not St. Jerome after the ſelf-ſame manner diſpute, *We believe it not, becauſe we read it not*; yea,

Aug. cont. liter. Petil. l. iii. c. 6.

Tertul. de præſcrip. adverſ.

Hieron. contra Helvid.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 51. Auguſtine ſaith, Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, &c. And leſt the anſwer ſhould remain the general ſaying of Auguſtine, unto the Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo that he would thereby ſhut out [illegible] Tertullian himſelf, before he was embrued [illegible] Montanus, giveth teſtimony unto the Diſci- [illegible] We may not give ourſelves, &c.

We

We ought not ſo much as to know the things which the book of the Law containeth not, ſaith St. Hilary. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto any thing which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or art doth propoſe, unleſs we find the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plain that ſo far to extend their ſpeeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that religious aſſent of Chriſtian belief, wherewith the words of the holy Prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that ſupernatural and celeſtially revealed truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus as their ſpeeches were meant, ſo by us they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alleged words of Cyprian, [a] *The Chriſtian religion ſhall find, that out of this Scripture rules of all doctrines have ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth return whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline doth contain*; ſurely this place would never have been brought forth in this cauſe, if it had been but once read over in the author himſelf out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal commandment of love; in the honour whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort: [b] *Surely this*

Hilar. in Pſ. cxxxii.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 8. Let him hear what Cyprian ſaith, The Chriſtian religion (ſaith he) ſhall find, that, &c.

[b] Vere hoc mandatum Legem complectitur et Prophetas, et in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit conſummationem omnis religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum et ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem et Hominibus et Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum et in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana religio, et invenit ex hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanâſſe, et hinc naſci et huc reverti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, et in omnibus [illegible] friyolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.

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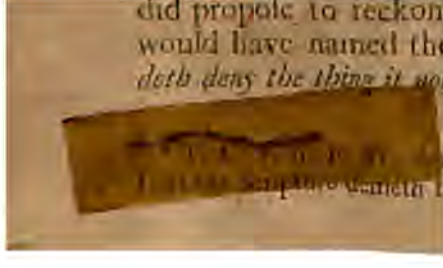
commandment containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one word is the abridgment of all the volumes of Scripture: this Nature, and Reaſon, and the authority of thy word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt commandment and the laſt: this being written in the Book of Life, is (as it were) an everlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels. Let Chriſtian religion read this one word, and meditate upon this commandment, and out of this Scripture it ſhall find the rules of all learning to have ſprung, and from hence to have riſen, and hither to return, whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and bootleſs which charity confirmeth not. Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to prove that Scripture is the only rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one commandment of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they do all means beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſs by number than to ſtay for weight. Well, but Tertullian doth in this caſe ſpeak yet more plainly: [a] *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not:* which are indeed the words of Tertullian. But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the Kings of Iſrael, and amongſt thoſe Kings, David; the Scripture reckoneth up the ſons of David, and amongſt thoſe ſons, Solomon. To prove that amongſt the Kings of Iſrael there was no David but only one; no Solomon but one in the ſons of David, Tertullian's argument will fitly prove. For inaſmuch as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon up all; if there were more, it would have named them. In this caſe the *Scripture doth deny the thing it noteth not.* Howbeit I could not

Tertul. lib. de Monog.



[a] ... d in another place Tertullian ſaith, ... Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

but

but think that man to do me ſome piece of manifeſt injury which would hereby faſten upon me a general opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very reign of King Henry the eighth, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch king did reign. Tertullian's ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. *There was,* ſaith Tertullian, *no ſecond Lamech like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* As therefore it noteth one ſuch to have been in that age of the world; ſo had there been more, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond Lamech; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant unto reaſon to divorce theſe two ſentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the latter is reſtrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the latter of them that ſimply whatſoever any man at this day doth think true, is by the Scripture denied, unleſs it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weak and feeble hath been ſo much perſiſted in. But to come unto thoſe their ſentences wherein matters of action are more apparently touched, the name of Tertullian is as before, ſo here again pretended [a]; who writing unto his wife two books, and exhorting her in the one to live a widow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if ſhe did marry, yet not to join herſelf to an infidel, as in thoſe times ſome widows Chriſtian had done for the advancement of their eſtate in this preſent world, he urgeth very earneſtly St. Paul's words, *Only in the Lord:* whereupon he demandeth of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can ſhew

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not againſt the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appear by other places, where he ſaith, That whatſoever pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is received, lib. ii. ad uxorem.

where

BOOK II. where God hath dispensed and granted licence to do against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth enjoin? And because in defence it might perhaps be replied; Seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are infidels, if either party chance to be after converted unto Christianity, this should not make separation between them as long as the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolve marriage being made? After great reasons shewed why God doth in converts being married allow continuance with infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful when they are free should enter into bonds of wedlock with such, he concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, [a] *They that please not the Lord, do even thereby offend the Lord; they do even thereby throw themselves into evil*; that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of Tertullian, as they are by them alleged, are two ways misunderstood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to all things in the neuter gender, which he speaketh in the feminine gender of women's persons; and in the latter, where, *received with hurt*, is put instead of *wilful incurring that which is evil*. And so in sum, Tertullian doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, *Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received*; but, *Those women that please not the Lord by their kind of marrying, do even thereby offend the Lord, they do even thereby throw themselves*

[a] Quæ Domino non placent, utique Dominum offendunt, utique malo se inferunt.

into

into evil. [a] Somewhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of Tertullian, which notwithſtanding when we have examined, it will be found as the reſt are. The Roman Emperor's cuſtom was at certain ſolemn times to beſtow on his ſoldiers a donative; which donative they received, wearing garlands upon their heads. There were, in the time of the Emperors Severus and Antoninus, many who, being ſoldiers, had been converted unto Chriſt, and notwithſtanding continued ſtill in that military courſe of life. In which number, one man there was amongſt all the reſt, who at ſuch a time coming to the Tribune of the army to receive his donative, came, but with a garland in his hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune, offended hereat, demanded what this great ſingularity would mean: to whom the ſoldier, *Chriſtianus ſum; I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time; whereupon grew a queſtion, whether a Chriſtian ſoldier might herein do as the unchriſtian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in Chriſtian belief, did rather commend the zeal of this man than approve his action. Tertullian was at the ſame time a Montaniſt, and an

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 81. And to come yet nearer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of crown or garland (which is indifferent in itſelf) to thoſe which objecting aſked, Where the Scripture ſaith, that a man might not wear a crown? He anſwereth, by aſking where the Scripture ſaith that they may wear? And unto them replying that it is permitted which is not forbidden, he anſwereth, that it is forbidden, which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the doctrine and Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary and variable by the advice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unleſs there be ſome word which doth permit the uſe of them: it is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, unleſs it ſpeak for them: and finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſity have the word of his mouth to declare his pleaſure.

enemy

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enemy unto the Church for condemning that prophetical ſpirit which Montanus and his followers did boaſt they had received; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their perfector and final inſtructor in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his book *De Corona Militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomach wherewith he wrote it. For firſt, the man he commended as one more conſtant than the reſt of his brethren, *who preſumed*, ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerve two Lords*. Afterwards choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth even remain that they ſhould alſo deviſe how to rid themſelves of his Martyrdoms, towards the Prophecies of whoſe Holy Spirit they have already ſhewed their diſdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſs up bag and baggage, make themſelves in a readineſs that they may fly from city to city; for that is the only point of the Goſpel which they are careful not to forget. I know even their Paſtors very well what men they are; in peace lions, harts in time of trouble and fear:* now theſe men, ſaith Tertullian, *They muſt be anſwered, Where do we find it written in Scripture, that a Chriſtian man may wear a garland?* And as men's ſpeeches, uttered in heat of diſtempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerneſs than weight; ſo he that ſhall mark the proofs alleged, and the anſwers to things objected in that book, will now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecility. Such is that argument whereby they that wore on their heads garlands are charged as tranſgreſſors of Nature's law, and guilty of ſacrilege againſt God the Lord of Nature, inaſmuch as flowers in ſuch ſort worn, can neither be ſmelt nor ſeen well by thoſe that

Tert. de Coron. Milit.

wear

wear them; and God made flowers ſweet and beautiful, that being ſeen and ſmelt unto they might ſo delight. Neither doth Tertullian bewray this weakneſs in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he contendeth. They aſk, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? for in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give ſentence beforehand, that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be aided.* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſs I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge myſelf bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſides Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all give place and are of no value, yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectual to perſuade. Which thing himſelf well enough underſtanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but uſe ſilence, his reſolution in fine is, that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerved, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by uſe, long uſage is a Law ſufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other Law, cuſtom itſelf doth ſtand for Law; that inaſmuch as Law doth ſtand upon reaſon, to allege reaſon ſerveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoever is reaſonable, the ſame is lawful, whoſoever is the author of it; that the authority of cuſtom is great; finally, that the cuſtom of Chriſtians was then, and had been a long time, not to wear garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend who preſumed to violate ſuch a cuſtom by not obſerving that thing, the very inveterate obſervation whereof was a Law ſufficient to bind all men to obſerve it, unleſs they could ſhew ſome higher Law, ſome Law of Scripture

BOOK II. Scripture to the contrary. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very well with ſtrength and ſoundneſs of reaſon, even thus to anſwer, *Whereas they aſk what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a garland? we are in this caſe rather to demand, What Scripture commandeth them? They cannot here allege, that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long received cuſtom forbidding them to do as they did, (if ſo be it did forbid them,) there was no excuſe in the world to juſtify their act, unleſs in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome Law that did licenſe them thus to break a received cuſtom. Now whereas in all the books of Tertullian beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do ſundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very book theſe ſentences are brought, to make us believe that Tertullian was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifeſt the argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in doctrine and Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For Tertullian doth plainly hold even in that book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary, but neceſſary, inaſmuch as the received cuſtom of the Church did tie and bind them not to wear garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further alſo he reckoneth up particularly a number of things whereof he expreſsly concludeth, *Harum et aliarum ejuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam invenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſs words, Many things there are which concern the diſcipline of the Church and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatively urged may not in any caſe perſuade us, but they muſt be obſerved, yea, although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. Tertullian therefore undoubtedly doth not

not in this book ſhew himſelf to be of the ſame mind with them, by whom his name is pretended. BOOK II.

6. But ſith the ſacred Scriptures themſelves afford oftentimes ſuch arguments as are taken from divine authority both one way and the other; *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it muſt be:* and again, in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be*; ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet down. God himſelf can neither poſſibly err, nor lead into error. For this cauſe his teſtimonies, whatſoever he affirmeth, are always truth and moſt infallible certainty. Yea, further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, and lack nothing which they ſhould have for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the argument negatively is evermore ſtrong and forcible concerning thoſe things that are apparently requiſite unto the ſame end. As for example; God intending to ſet down ſundry times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is

The firſt Aſſertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scripture's cuſtom of diſputing from divine authority negatively, 1 Joh. i. 5. *God is light, and there is in him no darkneſs at all.* Heb. vi. 18. *It is impoſſible that God ſhould lie.* Numb. xxiii. 19. *God is not as man, that he ſhould lie.* T. C. l. ii. p. 48. "It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets have reaſoned negatively. As when in the perſon

of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, *Whereof I have not ſpoken*, Jer. xix. 5. *And which never entered into my heart*, Jer. vii. 31. And where he condemneth them, becauſe they have not aſked counſel at the mouth of the Lord, Iſai. xxx. 2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kind of argument hath been uſed in things which are not of the ſubſtance of ſalvation or damnation, and whereof there was no commandment to the contrary, (as in the former there was. Levit. xviii. 21. and xx. 3. Deut. xvii. 16.) In Joſhua the Children of Iſrael are charged by the Prophet that they aſked not counſel at the mouth of the Lord, when they entered into covenant with the Gibeonites, Joſhua ix. 14. And yet that covenant was not made contrary unto any commandment of God. Moreover, we read that when David had taken this counſel, to build a Temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his word, that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding-place, where the Ark of the Covenant and the ſervice ſhould have a certain abiding; and albeit there was no word of God which forbad David to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection and zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth againſt David's reſolution to build the Temple, with this reaſon; namely, that he had given no commandment of this wi.. ſhould build it. 1 Chron. xvii. 6."

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the Apoſtle St. Paul's argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burn their ſons in fire unto Baal he did not command them, he ſpake no ſuch thing, neither came it into his mind; therefore this they ought not to have done. Which argument the Prophet Jeremy uſeth more than once, as being ſo effectual and ſtrong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but forbidden them, and that expreſsly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law unto themſelves, than the crime of tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord hath once himſelf preciſely ſet down a form of executing that wherein we are to ſerve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than not to do that which we are commanded. In this we ſeem to charge the Law of God with hardneſs only, in that with fooliſhneſs; in this we ſhew ourſelves weak and unapt to be doers of his will, in that we take upon us to be controllers of his wiſdom: in this we fail to perform the thing which God ſeeth meet, convenient, and good; in that we preſume to ſee what is meet and convenient better than God himſelf. In thoſe actions therefore, the whole form whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet down to be obſerved, we may not otherwiſe do than exactly as he hath preſcribed: in ſuch things negative arguments are ſtrong. Again, with a negative argument David is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple unto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not build me an houſe to dwell in. Whereſoever I have walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Judges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feed my people, ſaying, Why have ye not built me an houſe?* The Jews urged with a negative argument touching the aid which they ſought at the hands of the King of Egypt;

Levit. xviii. 21. and xx. 3. Deut. xxviii.

1 Chron. xvii. 6.

Egypt; *Wo to thoſe rebellious children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not aſked counſel at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelves with the ſtrength of Pharaoh.* Finally, the league of Joſhua with the Gibeonites is likewiſe with a negative argument touched. It was not as it ſhould be: and why? the Lord gave them not that advice: *They ſought not counſel at the mouth of the Lord.* By the virtue of which examples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of negative arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in ſuch ſort as we in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceive themſelves. For unto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſs in purpoſing to do, or in doing any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our queſtion is, whether all be ſin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not whether the Iſraelites did at any time amiſs by following their own minds without aſking counſel of God. No, it was that people's ſingular privilege, a favour which God vouchſafed them above the reſt of the world, that in the affairs of their eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelf gave them extraordinary direction and counſel as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech unto Moſes; after by Urim and Thummim unto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreams and viſions unto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receive the anſwer of God. Concerning Joſhua therefore, thus ſpake the Lord unto Moſes, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before Eleazar the prieſt, who ſhall aſk counſel for him by the judgment of Urim before the Lord*; whereof had Joſhua been mindful, the fraud of the Gibeonites could not ſo ſmoothly have paſt uneſpied till there was no help. The Jews had Prophets to have reſolved them from the mouth of God himſelf whether Egyptian aids ſhould profit them, yea or no; but they thought themſelves wiſe enough, and him unworthy to be of their coun-

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Iſaiah xxx. 1, 2.

Joſh. ix. 14.

Numb. xxvii. 21.

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ſel. In this reſpect therefore was their reproof, though ſharp, yet juſt, albeit there had been no charge preciſely given them that they ſhould always take heed of Egypt. But as for David, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no commandment that he ſhould build it, were very injurious; the purpoſe of his heart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honour and renown; neither could Nathan chooſe but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſs troubles which David ſhould be ſubject unto during the whole time of his regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer ſo good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. David ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duty which he owed unto God to ſet himſelf in an houſe of cedar-trees, and to behold the Ark of the Lord's Covenant unſettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing Nathan to ſhew him plainly that it ſhould be no more imputed unto him for a fault than it had been unto the Judges of Iſrael before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, nor more unfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of negative arguments ſo taken from the authority of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this leſs than nothing. And touching that which unto this purpoſe is borrowed from the controverſy ſometimes handled between [a] Mr. Harding and the wor-

1 Chron. xvii.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 50. Mr. Harding reproacheth the Biſhop of Saliſbury with this kind of reaſoning; unto whom the Biſhop anſwereth, The argument of authority negatively is taken to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of God's word, and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by many of the Catholic Fathers. A little after he ſheweth the reaſon why the argument of authority of the Scripture negatively is good; namely, for that the word of God is perfect. In another place unto Mr. Harding, caſting him in the teeth with negative arguments, he allegeth places out of

thieſt Divine that Chriſtendom hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one Univerſity, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others, [a] *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary camps they did practiſe:* of theſe two the one objecting that with us arguments taken from authority negatively are over common; the Biſhop's anſwer hereunto is, that *this kind of argument is thought to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of God's word; and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by St. Paul, and by many of the Catholic Fathers. St. Paul ſaith, God ſaid not unto Abraham, In thy ſeeds all the nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed; but, in thy ſeed, which is Chriſt; and thereof he thought he made a good argument. Likewiſe, ſaith Origen, The bread which the Lord gave unto his Diſciples, ſaying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerved till the next day. Such arguments Origen and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoever miſliking Mr. Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath ſpecially charged us, that we ſhould neither put to them nor take from them; and therefore it ſeemeth good unto them that have learned of Chriſt,* Unus eſt Magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and have heard the voice of God the Father from Heaven,* Ipſum audite. *But unto them that add to the word of God what them liſteth, and make God's will ſubject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own traditions ſake, unto them it ſeemeth not good.* Again, the Engliſh Apology alleging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor

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Art. i. Diviſ. 29.

Gal. iii.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

Matt. xxiii.

Matt. xvii.

of Irenæus, Chryſoſtom, Leo, which reaſoned negatively of the authority of the Scriptures. The places which he allegeth be very full and plain in generality, without any ſuch reſtraints as the anſwerer imagined, as they are there to be ſeen.

[a] Vell. Paterc. Jugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicere quæ poſtea in contrariis facerent.

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Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Mr. Harding to jeſt out the matter, to uſe the help of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſwer with ſcoffing at negatives. The Biſhop's defence in this caſe is, *The ancient learned Fathers having to deal with politic Heretics, that in defence of their errors avouched the judgment of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had been before them, and the general conſent of the primitive and whole univerſal Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to diſcover the ſhameleſs boldneſs and nakedneſs of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewiſe forced to uſe the negative, and ſo to drive the ſame Heretics, as we do you, to prove their affirmatives, which thing to do it was never poſſible. The ancient Father Irenæus thus ſtayed himſelf, as we do, by the negative,* Hoc neque Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliver. By a like negative, Chryſoſtom ſaith, This tree neither Paul planted, nor Apollos watered, nor God increaſed. In like ſort Leo ſaith, What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have ſpoken, nor the Goſpel hath preached, nor the Apoſtles have delivered? And again, How are the new devices brought in that our Fathers never knew? St. Auguſtine having reckoned up a great number of the Biſhops of Rome, by a general negative ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. St. Gregory being himſelf a Biſhop of Rome, and writing againſt the title of Univerſal Biſhop, ſaith thus, None of all my predeceſſors ever conſented to uſe this ungodly title; no Biſhop of Rome ever took upon him this name of ſingularity. By ſuch negatives, Mr. Harding, we reprove the vanity and novelty of your religion; we tell you none of the Catholic, ancient, learned Fathers, either Greek or Latin, ever uſed either your private Maſs, or your half Communion, or your barbarous unknown*

Defenſ. par. v. cap. 15. diviſ. 1.

Lib. i. cap. 1.

De incomp. nat. Dei, Hom. 3.

Epiſt. xciii. c. 12.

Epiſt. xcvii. c. 3.

Epiſt. clxv.

Lib. iv. Ep. 32.

known prayers. Paul never planted them, Apollos never watered them, God never increaſed them; they are of yourſelves, they are not of God. In all this there is not a ſyllable which any way croſſeth us. For concerning arguments negative, taken from human authority, they are here proved to be in ſome caſes very ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofs, when the authors of needleſs innovations are oppoſed with ſuch negatives, as that of Leo, *How are theſe new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?* When their grave and reverend Superiors do reckon up unto them, as Auguſtine did to the Donatiſts, large catalogues of Fathers, wondered at for their wiſdom, piety, and learning, amongſt whom for ſo many ages before us no one did ever ſo think of the Church's affairs as now the world doth begin to be perſuaded; ſurely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch arguments are negative. Much leſs when the like are taken from the ſacred authority of Scripture if the matter itſelf do bear them. For in truth the queſtion is not, whether an argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be ſo generally good, that in all actions men may urge it? The Fathers, I grant, do uſe very general and large terms, even as Hiero the King did in ſpeaking of Archimedes, *From henceforward whatſoever Archimedes ſpeaketh, it muſt be believed.* His meaning was not that Archimedes could ſimply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in ſuch ſort approved his ſkill, that he ſeemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the ſcience he was ſkilful in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that men's ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgment, peruſe the Biſhop's ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of Irenæus, Chryſoſtom, and Leo, which three are choſen

BOOK II. from among the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (even as one of theirs alſo) do make for defence of negative arguments taken from human authority, and not from divine only. They mention no more reſtraint in the one than in the other; yet I think themſelves will not hereby judge, that the Fathers took both to be ſtrong, without reſtraint unto any ſpecial kind of matter wherein they held ſuch argument forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop either ſay or prove any more, than that an argument in ſome kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of men's actions or perſuaſions.

7. An earneſt deſire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath cauſed here much pains to be taken in abating the eſtimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as truth and reaſon will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needful. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt man's authority, is to overthrow ſuch orders, laws, and conſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they ſhould therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they have in this caſe ſpoken, I would for brevity ſake let paſs, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. [a] Wherefore to ſay that ſimply an ar-

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 25. When the queſtion is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The reaſon is, becauſe the infirmity of man can never attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might ſpeak all things that are to be ſpoken of it; neither yet be free from error in thoſe things which he ſpeaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an orator to perſuade the ſimpler ſort, than for a diſputer to enforce him that is learned, 1 Cor. i. 11. John iv. 39.

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gument taken from man's authority doth hold no way, neither affirmatively nor negatively, is hard. By a man's authority we here underſtand the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of another's mind that buildeth upon it; as the Apoſtle ſomewhat did upon their report of the houſe of Chloe; and the Samaritans in a matter of far greater moment upon the report of a ſimple woman. For ſo it is ſaid in St. John's Goſpel, *Many of the Samaritans of that city believed in him for the ſaying of the woman, which teſtified, He hath told me all things that ever I did.* The ſtrength of man's authority is affirmatively ſuch, that the weightieſt affairs in the world depend thereon. In judgment and juſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three witneſſes every word ſhall be confirmed?* This the Law of God would not ſay, if there were in a man's teſtimony no force at all to prove any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of fact there is ſome credit to be given to the teſtimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we ſee the contrary both acknowledged and univerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were never but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a man's right be called in queſtion, are we not bold to rely and build upon the judgment of ſuch as are famous for their ſkill in the Laws of this land? In matter of State, the weight many times of ſome one man's authority is thought reaſon ſufficient even to ſway over whole nations. And this is not only with the ſimpler ſort, but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch arguments in ſuch caſes prevail with us. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moved with authority, is the conſcience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to paſs that, having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to diſlike them than know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwiſe with them that are ſkilful,

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Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.

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authority is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcern how juſt cauſe there is why to ſome men's authority ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of Hippocrates (no doubt) was more effectual to perſuade even ſuch men as Galen himſelf than to move a ſilly empiric. So that the very ſelf-ſame argument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtrain the wiſer to yield. And therefore not orators only with the people, but even the very profoundeſt diſputers in all faculties have thereby often with the beſt learned prevailed moſt. As for arguments taken from human authority, and that negatively, for example ſake, if we ſhould think the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a bell, the preſenting of infants at the holy Font by ſuch as we commonly call their Godfathers, or any other the like received cuſtom, to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we think very reverently have in their books and writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church, this reaſoning were ſubject unto juſt reproof; it were but feeble, weak, and unſound. Notwithſtanding even negatively an argument from human authority may be ſtrong, as namely thus: the Chronicles of England mention no more than only ſix Kings bearing the name of Edward ſince the time of the laſt conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a man's teſtimony, we cannot ſimply avouch either that affirmatively it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtrain men of underſtanding and ripe judgment to yield aſſent; or that negatively it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For unto every of theſe the contrary is moſt plain. Neither doth that which is alleged concerning the infirmity of men overthrow or diſprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things eſcape them;

them; and in many things they may be deceived; yea, thoſe things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſs; and although themſelves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpoſe deceive others. Howbeit, infinite caſes there are wherein all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a city of Rome, that Pius Quintus and Gregory the Thirteenth, and others have been Popes of Rome, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſuaded. The ground of our perſuaſion, who never ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but man's teſtimony. Will any man here notwithſtanding allege thoſe mentioned human infirmities as reaſons why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of man's teſtimony were to ſhake the very fortreſs of God's truth. For whatſoever we believe concerning ſalvation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unleſs we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do ſignify thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding man's infirmity, yet his authority may enforce aſſent. Upon better advice and deliberation ſo much is perceived and at the length confeſſed, that arguments taken from the authority of men may not only ſo far forth as has been declared, but further alſo be of ſome force in human ſciences; which force be it never ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not utterly naught. But in matters divine it is ſtill maintained ſtiffly that they have no manner of force

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at all [a]. Howbeit, the very ſelf-ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yield that they are of ſome force in the one, will at the length conſtrain alſo to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural ſtrength of man's wit may by experience and ſtudy attain unto ſuch ripeneſs in the knowledge of things human, that men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat upon their judgment, what reaſon have we to think but that even in matters divine, the like wits furniſhed with neceſſary helps, exerciſed in Scripture with like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that men ſhould have juſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent unto faith and religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo grave, wiſe, and learned in that faculty ſhall judge moſt ſound? For the controverſy is of the weight of ſuch men's judgments. Let it therefore be ſuſpected; let it be taken as groſs, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatſo-

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 10. Although that kind of argument of authority of men is good neither in human nor divine ſciences; yet it hath ſome ſmall force in human ſciences, foraſmuch as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to ſome ripeneſs of judgment in thoſe ſciences, which in divine matters hath no force at all; as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them than a blind man of colours, yea ſo far is it from drawing credit if it be barely ſpoken without reaſon and teſtimony of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpicion of untruth, whatſoever proceedeth from him; which the Apoſtle did well note, when, to ſignify a thing corruptly ſpoken, and againſt the truth, he ſaith, That it is ſpoken according to man, Rom. iii. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying man, but ſimply as a man: and although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is moſt advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſordered affections, (whereof either of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth,) no man's authority, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſuaded of the authority of the Word of God, can bring aſſurance unto the conſcience.

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ever, concerning things divine above Nature, ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the mouths of mere natural men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are diſcerned; for this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aſpire unto knowledge by; whoſe exercise, labours, and divine ſtudies he hath ſo bleſſed, that the world for their great and rare ſkill that way hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reject even their judgment likewiſe, as being utterly of no moment? For mine own part, I dare not ſo lightly eſteem of the Church, and of the principal pillars therein. The truth is, that the mind of man deſireth evermore to know the truth according to the moſt infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aſpect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true by ſtrong and invincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both do fail, then which way greateſt probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtian men being received as the word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have neceſſary reaſon for, yea, that which we ſee with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe we hold that his ſpeech revealeth there what himſelf ſeeth, and therefore the ſtrongeſt proof of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented unto by us, (which do thus receive the Scripture,) is the Scripture. Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our hands, that we ſhould yield unto any thing other aſſent than ſuch as doth anſwer the evidence which is to be had of that we aſſent unto. For which cauſe even in matters divine, concerning ſome things

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nifeſt teſtimony cited from the mouth of God himſelf to the contrary, could not chooſe but overweigh them all; inaſmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impoſſible; it is, that demonſtrative reaſon or teſtimony divine ſhould deceive. Howbeit, in defect of proof infallible, becauſe the mind doth rather follow probable perſuaſions than approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; ſurely if a queſtion concerning matter of doctrine were propoſed, and on the one ſide no kind of proof appearing, there ſhould on the other be alleged and ſhewed that ſo a number of the learneſt divines in the world have ever thought; although it did not appear what reaſon or what Scripture led them to be of that judgment, yet to their very bare judgment ſomewhat a reaſonable man would attribute, notwithſtanding the common imbecilities which are incident unto our nature. And whereas it is thought, that eſpecially with the Church, and thoſe that are called and perſuaded of the authority of the word of God, man's authority with them eſpecially ſhould not prevail; it muſt and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them eſpecially, as far as equity requireth, and farther we maintain it not. [a] For men to be tied and led by authority, as

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 21. Of divers ſentences of the Fathers themſelves, (whereby ſome have likened them to brute beaſts without reaſon, which ſuffer themſelves to be led by the judgment and authority of others, ſome have preferred the judgment of one ſimple rude man alleging reaſon, unto companies of learned men,) I will content myſelf at this time with two or three ſentences. Irenæus ſaith, Whatſoever is to be ſhewed in the Scripture, cannot be ſhewed but out of the Scriptures themſelves, lib. iii. cap. 12. Jerome ſaith, No man, be he never ſo holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apoſtles, in Pſal. lxxxvi. Auguſtine ſaith, That he will believe none, how godly and learned ſoever he be, unleſs he confirm his ſentence by the Scriptures, or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them, Ep. xviii. And in another place, Hear this, the Lord ſaith; hear not this, Donatus ſaith, Rogatus ſaith, Vincentius ſaith, Hilarius ſaith, Ambroſe ſaith, Auguſtine ſaith, but hearken unto this, The Lord ſaith,

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it were with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reaſon to the contrary not to liſten unto it, but to follow like beaſts the firſt in the herd, they know not, nor care not whither, this were brutiſh. Again, that authority of men ſhould prevail with men either againſt or above Reaſon, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never ſo great and reverend, are to yield unto Reaſon, the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the ſimplicity of his perſon which doth allege it, but being found to be ſound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary muſt of neceſſity ſtoop and give place. Irenæus writing againſt Marcion, which held one God author of the Old Teſtament and another of the New, to prove that the Apoſtles preached the ſame God which was known before to the Jews, he copiouſly allegeth ſundry their ſermons and ſpeeches uttered concerning that matter and recorded in Scripture. And leſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for theſe demonſtrations out of Scripture, and do ſummarily declare the things which many ways have been ſpoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my ſpeech tedious:* Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis,

faith, Ep. viii. And again, having to do with an Arian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the Council of Nice, nor the other the Council of Arimine, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himſelf by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures, which are witneſſes proper to neither, but common to both, matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon ought to be debated, Cont. Max. Arian. l. iii. c. 14. And in another place againſt Petil. the Donatiſt, he ſaith, Let not theſe words be heard between us, I ſay, You ſay; let us hear this, Thus ſaith the Lord. And by and by ſpeaking of the Scriptures, he ſaith, There let us ſeek the Church, there let us try the cauſe. De unit. Eccleſ. cap. 3. Hereby it is manifeſt, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth.

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non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis, *Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, than by citing them out of the Scriptures themſelves where they are.* Which words make ſo little unto the purpoſe, that they ſeem, as it were, offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnly forth to ſay nothing. And concerning the verdict of St. Jerome, if no man, be he never ſo well learned, have after the Apoſtles any authority to publiſh new doctrine as from Heaven, and to require the world's aſſent as unto truth received by prophetical revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned men's judgments in opening that truth, which by being converſant in the Apoſtles' writings, they have themſelves from thence learned? St. Auguſtine exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I think) that we ſhould ſtop our ears againſt his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean ſimply that audience ſhould altogether be denied unto men; but either that if men ſpeak one thing, and God himſelf teach another, then he, not they, is to be obeyed; or if they both ſpeak the ſame thing, yet then alſo man's ſpeech is unworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this caſe forbidden to hear what men of judgment think it to be? If not, then this allegation alſo might very well have been ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was between the Catholic Fathers and Arians, Donatiſts and others of like perverſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councils alleged on the one ſide, the like by the contrary ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that ever the queſtion ſhould by this means grow unto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give ſentence on both ſides; by Scripture the controverſy between them was ſuch as might be determined. In this

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this caſe what madneſs was it with ſuch kinds of proofs to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual means to end all controverſy that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear that an argument of authority of man affirmatively is in matters divine nothing worth. Which opinion being once inſerted into the minds of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we ſee, it hath already made thouſands ſo headſtrong even in groſs and palpable errors, that a man whoſe capacity will ſcarce ſerve him to utter five words in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea*, as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, grave, and learned judgments that are in the whole world: which inſolency muſt be repreſſed, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian religion. Our Lord's Diſciples marking what ſpeech he uttered unto them, and at the ſame time calling to mind a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Maſter it ſeemed unto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not themſelves anſwer with full ſatisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propoſe to our Saviour, ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways even in matters of their own profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the judgment of the very Scribes in matters divine to be of ſome value; ſome probability they thought there was that Elias ſhould come, inaſmuch as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth. Deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeem true, only becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it was not then in their heads. We do not find that our

our Saviour reproved them of error for thinking the judgment of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſuaded that the will of God is, we ſhould ſo far reject the authority of men as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that urge us unto this be themſelves ſo perſuaded indeed. Men do ſometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confeſs they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general with all men for the moſt part. When the judgments of learned men are alleged againſt them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppoſe unto them the judgments of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and weight, for which they are loth the cauſe they maintain ſhould be ſo much weakened as their teſtimony is available. Again, what reaſon is there why, alleging teſtimonies as proofs, men give them ſome title of credit, honour, and eſtimation, whom they allege, unleſs beforehand it be ſufficiently known who they are? What reaſon hereof but only a common ingrafted perſuaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to countervail thoſe exceptions which might be taken againſt them, and that ſuch men's authority is not lightly to be ſhaken off? Shall I add further, that the force of arguments drawn from the authority of Scripture itſelf, as Scriptures commonly are alleged, ſhall (being ſifted) be found to depend upon the ſtrength [illegible] ſo much diſputed and debated authority? Surely it doth, and that either the [illegible]

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deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, even ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing five hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alleged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, either ſome probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they do? Which, notwithſtanding to mean otherwiſe than they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelves on human authority, even when they moſt pretend divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controverſy about that Diſcipline which is ſo earneſtly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alleged to prove that the whole Chriſtian world for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift, and reſolve their alleged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lieth; and it ſhall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the moſt which can be inferred upon ſuch plenty of divine teſtimonies is only this, That ſome things which they maintain, as far as ſome men can probably conjecture, do ſeem to have been out of Scripture not abſurdly gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any man's conſcience to build ſuch proceedings upon as have been and are put in ure for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I gladly underſtand how it cometh to paſs, [illegible] peremptorily do maintain that [illegible] nothing worthy the name of the cauſe [illegible] to have the common

on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they to ſtrip their adverſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſs pains to furniſh alſo their own cauſe with the like? If it be void and to no purpoſe that the names of men are ſo frequent in their books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſolved, [a] *They do it but after the truth made manifeſt, firſt by Reaſon, or by Scripture: they do it not, but to control the enemies of truth, who bear themſelves bold upon human authority, making not for them, but againſt them rather.* Which anſwers are nothing: for in what place, or upon what conſideration ſoever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it. BOOK II.

8. But to the end it may more plainly appear what we are to judge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe itſelf wherein they are alleged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the uſe of Reaſon are generally either good or evil. For although it be granted that no action is properly termed good or evil unleſs it be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former aſſertion, that all actions of men endued with the uſe of Reaſon are generally either good or evil; becauſe even thoſe things are done voluntarily by us which other creatures do naturally, inaſmuch as we might ſtay our doing of them if we would. Beaſts naturally do take their food and reſt when it offereth itſelf unto them. If men did ſo too, and could not do other- A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

[a] T. C. lib. ii. c. 21. If at any time it happened unto Auguſtine (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to allege the authority of the ancient Fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being provoked by the adverſaries of the truth, who bare themſelves high of ſome council, or of ſome man of name that had favoured that part.

BOOK II.

wiſe of themſelves, there were no place for any ſuch reproof as that of our Saviour Chriſt unto his Diſciples, *Could ye not watch with me one hour?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, muſt needs be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe wherefore we rather ſhould do it than not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions only thoſe are ſaid to be good or evil which are capable of deliberation: ſo that many things being hourly done by men, wherein they need not uſe with themſelves any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeem that well or ill doing belongeth only to our weightier affairs, and to thoſe deeds which are of ſo great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unſound alſo. I do rather incline to think, that ſeeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it; where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth itſelf that it needeth not be ſought for, in thoſe things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may incline either way, and would not any one way bend itſelf, if there were not ſome apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we uſe, where there is no doubt what we ſhould incline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needleſs in regard of the agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolve upon. It hath no apparent abſurdity therefore in it to think that all actions of men endued with the uſe of Reaſon, are generally either good or evil. Whatſoever is good, the ſame is alſo approved of God; and according unto the ſundry degrees of goodneſs, the kinds of divine approbation are in like ſort multiplied. Some things are good,

Matt. xxvi. 40.

yet

yet in so mean a degree of goodness, that men are only not disproved nor disallowed of God for them. *No man hateth his own flesh. If ye do good unto them that do so to you, the very Publicans themselves do as much. They are worse than Infidels that have no care to provide for their own.* In actions of this sort, the very light of Nature alone may discover that which is so far forth in the sight of God allowable. Some things in such sort are allowed, that they be also required as necessary unto salvation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper necessity final, so that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary course be saved, nor by any means be excluded from life observing them. In actions of this kind our chiefest direction is from Scripture; for Nature is no sufficient teacher what we should do that we may attain unto life everlasting. The unsufficiency of the light of Nature is by the light of Scripture so fully and so perfectly herein supplied, that further light than this hath added there doth not need unto that end.

BOOK II.

Ephes. v. 29. Matt. v. 46. 1 Tim. v. 8.

Finally, some things although not so required of necessity, that to leave them undone excludeth from salvation, are notwithstanding of so great dignity and acceptation with God, that most ample reward in Heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no commandment either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands; yet those motives there are in both, which draw most effectually our minds unto them. In this kind there is not the least action, but it doth somewhat make to the accessory augmentation of our bliss. For which cause our Saviour doth plainly witness, that there shall not be as much as *a cup of cold water bestowed for his sake without reward.* Hereupon dependeth whatsoever difference there is between the states of Saints in glory; hither we refer whatsoever belongeth unto the highest perfection of man by way of service towards God: hereunto that fervour and first love of

Matt. x. 42.

BOOK II.

Christians did bend itself, causing them to *sell their possessions, and lay down the price at the blessed Apostles' feet.* Hereat St. Paul undoubtedly did aim, in so far abridging his own liberty, and exceeding that which the bond of necessary and enjoined duty tied him unto. Wherefore seeing that in all these several kinds of actions, there can be nothing possibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command; and that his very commandments in some kind, as namely, his precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwise known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howsoever we know them, must needs be acceptable in his sight; let them with whom we have hitherto disputed consider well, how it can stand with Reason to make the bare mandate of sacred Scripture the only rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The testimonies of God are true, the testimonies of God are perfect, the testimonies of God are all-sufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpose, and left his intent to be accomplished by our devisings. What the Scripture purposeth, the same in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we swerve not in judgment, one thing especially we must observe, namely, that the absolute perfection of Scripture is seen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to pass, that first such as imagine the general and main drift of the body of sacred Scripture not to be so large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full instruction in all things unto salvation necessary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwise in this life attain unto; they are by this very mean induced either still to look for new revelations from Heaven, or else dangerously to add to the word

Acts iv. 32—36. 1 Thess. ii. 7, 9.

word of God uncertain tradition, that ſo the doctrine of man's ſalvation may be complete; which doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpect without any ſuch thing added to be ſo complete, that we utterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint ourſelves with any thing further. Whatſoever to make up the doctrine of man's ſalvation is added as in ſupply of the Scripture's unſufficiency, we reject it. Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in delivering the holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into ſundry as great inconveniences. Theſe pretending the Scripture's perfection, infer thereupon, that in Scripture all things lawful to be done muſt needs be contained. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end whereto they were inſtituted. As therefore God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient unto that uſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea, every ſentence thereof, is perfect, and wanteth nothing requiſite unto that purpoſe for which God delivered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude ſo of every ſentence, as of the whole ſum and body thereof, unleſs we firſt of all prove that it was the drift, ſcope, and purpoſe of Almighty God in holy Scripture to compriſe all things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and mark, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church ſhould clean have abrogated amongſt them the Law of Nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both general principles for directing of human actions are comprehended, and

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concluſions derived from them; upon which concluſions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what ſhall the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weak conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpairs[a]? Not that the Scripture itſelf doth cauſe any ſuch thing, (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth,) but the neceſſities of this life urging men to do that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion, and judgment of itſelf directeth them unto; on the other ſide, this doctrine teaching them that ſo to do were to ſin againſt their own ſouls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity whatſoever they go about and have not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chooſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end? how can it chooſe but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to find out ſome ſentence clearly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to do, (ſeem we in Scripture never ſo expert,) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what miſery this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all men's lives and actions. Make all things ſin which we do by direction of Nature's light and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all upon Scripture; admit this poſition, and parents ſhall cauſe their children to ſin as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing before they come to years of capacity, and be ripe for knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with maſters as it

[a] T. C. lib. ii. p. 6. Where this doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to deſpair; it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to deſpair, againſt which this doctrine offereth the remedy; it muſt need be that it bringeth comfort and joy to the conſcience of man.

was

was with him in the Goſpel; but ſervants *being commanded to go*, ſhall ſtand ſtill till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which, as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian duty in ſome caſes, ſo in common affairs to require it were moſt unfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiency of holy Scripture, each extremely oppoſite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The ſchools of Rome teach Scripture to be unſufficient, as if, except traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and ſupernatural truth which abſolutely is neceſſary for the children of men in this life to know that they may in the next be ſaved. Others, juſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort, that to do any thing according to any other Law were not only unneceſſary, but even oppoſite unto ſalvation, unlawful and ſinful. Whatſoever is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe than as the truth is, though it ſeem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praiſes given unto men do often abate and impair the credit of their deſerved commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt, in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cauſe even thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt abundantly, to be leſs reverently eſteemed. I therefore leave it to themſelves to conſider, Whether they have in this firſt point overſhot themſelves or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſuaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luke vii. 1.

End of the Second Book.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK III.

Concerning their ſecond Aſſertion, that in Scripture there muſt be of neceſſity contained a Form of Church Polity, the Laws whereof may in no wiſe be altered.

The Matter contained in this Third Book.

1. *What the Church is, and in what reſpect Laws of Polity are thereunto neceſſarily required.*
2. *Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular Form of Church Polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly to any ſuch Form are not of neceſſity to Salvation.*
3. *That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themſelves ſo teach, which are our reprovers for ſo teaching.*
4. *That*

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4. *That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the ſoundneſs of truth may be given.*

5. *Their meaning who firſt urged againſt the Polity of the Church of England, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.*

6. *How great injury men by ſo thinking ſhould offer unto all the Churches of God.*

7. *A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintain it, by interpreting* commanded, *as though it were meant that greater things only ought to be found ſet down in Scripture particularly, and leſſer framed by the general rules of Scripture.*

8. *Another device to defend the ſame, by expounding* commanded, *as if it did ſignify* grounded *on Scripture, and were oppoſed to things found out by the light of natural Reaſon only.*

9. *How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how thoſe being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his ſight.*

10. *That neither God's being the author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.*

11. *Whether Chriſt muſt needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himſelf did deliver.*

What the Church is, and in what reſpect Laws of Polity are thereunto neceſſarily required.

ALBEIT the ſubſtance of thoſe controverſies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Chriſt, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church conſiſteth: yet becauſe the ſubject or matter which this poſition concerneth is a Form of Church Government, or Church Polity; it

it therefore behoveth us ſo far forth to conſider the nature of the Church, as is requiſite for men's more clear and plain underſtanding in what reſpect Laws of Polity or Government are neceſſary thereunto. That Church of Chriſt, which we properly term his body myſtical, can be but one; neither can that one be ſenſibly diſcerned by any man, inaſmuch as the parts thereof are ſome in heaven already with Chriſt, and the reſt that are on earth (albeit their natural perſons be viſible) we do not diſcern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend that ſuch a real body there is, a body collective, becauſe it containeth an huge multitude; a body myſtical, becauſe the myſtery of their conjunction is removed altogether from ſenſe. Whatſoever we read in Scripture concerning the endleſs love and the ſaving mercy which God ſheweth towards his Church, the only proper ſubject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promiſed, *I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hand.* They who are of this ſociety have ſuch marks and notes of diſtinction from all others, as are not objects unto our ſenſe; only unto God who ſeeth their hearts, and underſtandeth all their ſecret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifeſt. All men knew Nathanael to be an Iſraelite; but our Saviour piercing deeper giveth further teſtimony of him than men could have done with ſuch certainty as he did; *Behold indeed an Iſraelite, in whom there is no guile.* If we profeſs as Peter did, that we love the Lord, and profeſs it in the hearing of men; Charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do ſo, as long as they ſee no proof to the contrary. But that our love is ſound and ſincere, that it cometh from *a pure heart, a good conſcience, and a faith unfeigned*, who can pronounce,

John x. 28.

and i. 47.

and xxi. 15.

1 Tim. i. 5.

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pronounce, saving only the Searcher of all men's hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? And as those everlasting promises of love, mercy, and blessedness, belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other side, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a sensible known company. And this visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the world to the last end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the other since the coming of Christ, that part which since the coming of Christ partly hath embraced and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we term, as by a more proper name, the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian, that be they Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but [a] *one body*. The unity of which visible Body and Church of Christ consisteth in that uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they all profess themselves; that *one Faith*, which they all acknowledge; that *one Baptism*, wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. *Let all the house of Israel know for certainty*, saith Peter, *that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, even this Jesus whom ye have crucified.* Christians therefore they are not, which *call him not their Master and Lord.* And from hence it came, that first at Antioch, and afterward throughout the whole world, all that

Acts ii. 36.

Joh. xiii. 13. Col. iii. 24. and iv. 1.

[a] Ephes. ii. 16. That he might reconcile both unto God in one body. Ephes. iii. 6. That the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body. Vide T. p. 3. q. 7. art. 3. 1 Cor. xii. 13. Ephes. iv. 5.

were

were of the Church visible were called Christians, even among the Heathen; which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the world, even Christ Jesus himself was [a] execrable; for whose sake all men were so likewise which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himself did foresee, and therefore armed his Church to the end they might sustain it without discomfort. *All these things they will do unto you for my name's sake* Joh. xv. 21. *—yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God good service. These things I tell* xvi. 2, 4. *you, that when the hour shall come, ye may then call to mind how I told you beforehand of them.* But our naming of Jesus Christ our Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that Faith which Christ hath published unto the world. To shew that the Angel of Pergamus continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, *Thou keepest my name, and thou hast not denied my* Apoc. ii. *Faith:* concerning which Faith, *the rule thereof,* [13] saith Tertullian, *is one alone, immoveable, and no way* Tertul. de *possible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is, Virgin. velhe sheweth by rehearsing those few articles of Christian belief. And before Tertullian, Ireny; *The* Iren. adverf. Hæreſ. *Church though scattered through the whole world, unto* lib. i. cap. *the utmost borders of the earth, hath from the Apostles* 2. &c. *and their Disciples received belief.* The parts of which belief he also reciteth, in substance the very same with Tertullian, and thereupon inferreth, *This Faith, the Church being spread far and wide preserveth, as if one house did contain them: these things it equally em-*

[a] 1 Cor. i. 23. Vide et Tacitum, Annal. lib. xv. cap. 44. Nero—quæsitissimis pœnis adfecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

braceth,

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braceth, as though it had even one ſoul, one heart, and no more: it publiſheth, teacheth, and delivereth theſe things with uniform conſent, as if God had given it but one only tongue wherewith to ſpeak. He which amongſt the guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeak, uttereth no more than this; and leſs than this the moſt ſimple do not utter, when they make profeſſion of their faith. Now although we know the Chriſtian Faith and allow of it, yet in this reſpect we are but entering; entered we are not into the viſible Church before our admittance by the door of Baptiſm. Wherefore immediately upon the acknowledgment of Chriſtian Faith, the Eunuch (we ſee) was baptized by Philip, Paul by Ananias, by Peter a huge multitude containing three thouſand ſouls; which being once baptized, were reckoned in the number of ſouls added to the viſible Church. As for thoſe virtues which belong unto moral righteouſneſs and honeſty of life, we do not mention them, becauſe they are not proper unto Chriſtian men, as they are Chriſtian, but do concern them as they are men. True it is, the want of theſe virtues excludeth from ſalvation. So doth much more the abſence of inward belief of heart; ſo doth deſpair and lack of hope; ſo emptineſs of Chriſtian love and charity. But we ſpeak now of the viſible Church, whoſe children are ſigned with this mark, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm.* In whomſoever theſe things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her children; them only ſhe holdeth for aliens and ſtrangers, in whom theſe things are not found. For want of theſe it is, that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels are excluded out of the bounds of the Church. Others we may not deny to be of the viſible Church, as long as theſe things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all men are of neceſſity either Chriſtians, or not Chriſtians. If by external profeſſion they be Chriſtians, then they are of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and Chriſtians by external profeſſion they are all, whoſe

Acts viii. 38. and xxii. 16. and ii. 41.

mark

mark of recognizance hath in it thoſe things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Heretics, perſons excommunicable, yea, and caſt out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the imps and limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue ſuch. Is it then poſſible, that the ſelf-ſame men ſhould belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Jeſus Chriſt? Unto that Church which is his myſtical body, not poſſible; becauſe that body conſiſteth of none but only true Iſraelites, true ſons of Abraham, true ſervants and ſaints of God Howbeit of the viſible Body and Church of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe may be, and oftentimes are, in reſpect of the main parts of their outward profeſſion, who in regard of their inward diſpoſition of mind, yea, of external converſation, yea, even of ſome parts of their very profeſſion, are moſt worthily both hateful in the ſight of God himſelf, and in the eyes of the founder part of the viſible Church moſt execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the *kingdom of heaven to a net*, whereunto all which cometh, neither is, nor ſeemeth fiſh: his Church he compareth unto a field, where tares manifeſtly known and ſeen by all men do grow, intermingled with good corn; and even ſo ſhall continue till the final conſummation of the world. God hath had ever, and ever ſhall have, ſome Church viſible upon earth. When the people of God *worſhipped the calf* in the wilderneſs; when they adored *the brazen ſerpent*; when they *ſerved the gods of nations*; when they *bowed their knees to Baal*; when they *burnt incenſe and offered ſacrifice unto idols*: true it is, the wrath of God was moſt fiercely inflamed againſt them; their Prophets juſtly condemned them as an adulterous ſeed and a wicked generation of miſcreants, which had forſaken the living God; and of him were likewiſe forſaken, in reſpect of that ſingular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraceth his faithful children. Howbeit, retaining the

Matth. xiii. 47. and xiii. 24.

Ex. xxxii. Pſ. cvi. 19, 20. 2 Kings xviii. 4. Jer. xi. 13. 2 Kings xxii. 17. Iſ. lvii. 3. and i. 4. and lx. 15.

Jer. xiii. 11.

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the Law of God, and the holy ſeal of his Covenant, the ſheep of his viſible flock they continued even in the depth of their diſobedience and rebellion. Wherefore not only amongſt them God always had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which never bowed their knees to Baal; but whoſe knees were bowed unto Baal, even they were alſo of the viſible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguiſhed; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the world any beſides himſelf that carried a true and upright heart towards God, with care to ſerve him according unto his holy will. For lack of diligent obſerving the difference, firſt, between the Church of God myſtical and viſible, then between the viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, the overſights are neither few nor light that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing elſe, who think that in the time of the firſt world the family of Noah did contain all that were of the viſible Church of God. From whence it grew, and from no other cauſe in the world, that the African Biſhops in the Council of Carthage, knowing how the adminiſtration of Baptiſm belongeth only to the Church, and ſuppoſing that Heretics which were apparently ſevered from the ſound believing Church could not poſſibly be of the Church of Jeſus Chriſt, thought it utterly againſt Reaſon, that baptiſm adminiſtered by men of corrupt belief ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of rebaptization, their arguments are built upon the fore-alleged ground, *that Heretics are not at all any part of the Church of Chriſt. Our Saviour founded his Church on a rock, and not upon hereſy. Power of baptizing he gave to his Apoſtles, unto Heretics he gave it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelves againſt Chriſt, do but ſcatter his ſheep and flock. Without the Church, baptize they cannot.* Again, *Are*

1 Kings xix. 18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Matt. vii. 24. and xvi. 18. and xxviii. 19.

Heretic.

Heretics Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remain they not in God's Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall theſe words of the Lord ſerve? He which is not with me is againſt me; and, *He which gathereth not with me ſcattereth. Wherefore evident it is, that upon miſbegotten children and the brood of Antichriſt without rebaptization the Holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as Cyprian: *I know no baptiſm but one, and that in the Church only; none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Devil, hath the Devil: he doth examine about belief, whoſe lips and words do breathe forth a canker: the faithleſs doth offer the articles of faith; a wicked creature forgiveth wickedneſs; in the name of Chriſt, Antichriſt ſigneth; he which is curſed of God bleſſeth; a dead carrion promiſeth life; a man unpeaceable giveth peace; a blaſphemer calleth upon the name of God; a profane perſon doth exerciſe prieſthood; a ſacrilegious wretch doth prepare the altar; and in the neck of all theſe that evil alſo cometh; the Euchariſt, a very Biſhop of the Devil, doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prove that Heretics were in no ſort any part of the viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their baptiſm no baptiſm. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better adviſed Council, and alſo revoked by the chiefeſt of the authors thereof themſelves. What is it but only the ſelf-ſame error and miſconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſſed; they aſk us where our Church did lurk, in what cave of the earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of years together, before the birth of Martin Luther? As if we were of opinion, that Luther did erect a new Church of Chriſt. No, the Church of Chriſt which was from the beginning is, and continueth unto the end: of which Church, all parts have not been always equally ſincere and ſound. In the days of Abia, it plainly appeareth that Judah was by many degrees more

Secundinus in eodem Concil. Matt. xii. 30.

Conc. Carthag. Art. 1.

In Concilio Niceno. Vid. Hieron. Dial. adverſ. Luciferia.

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more free from pollution than Iſrael; as that ſolemn oration ſheweth wherein he pleadeth for the one againſt the other in this wiſe. *O Jeroboam, and all Iſrael, hear you me: have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the ſons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the people of nations? Whoſoever cometh to conſecrate with a young bullock, and ſeven rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; and the Prieſts, the ſons of Aaron, miniſter unto the Lord every morning and evening burnt-offerings and ſweet incenſe; and the bread is ſet in order upon the pure table, and the candleſtick of gold with the lamps thereof to burn every evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forſaken him.* In St. Paul's time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reproved; they of Galatia much more out of ſquare. In St. John's time, Epheſus and Smyrna in far better ſtate than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope therefore, that to reform ourſelves, if at any time we have done amiſs, is not to ſever ourſelves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are ſo ſtill. Other difference between our eſtate before and now we know none, but only ſuch as we ſee in Judah; which having ſometime been idolatrous, became afterwards more ſoundly religious, by renouncing idolatry and ſuperſtition. If Ephraim *be joined to idols*, the counſel of the Prophet is, *Let him alone. If Iſrael play the harlot, let not Judah ſin. If it ſeem evil unto you*, ſaith Joſhua, *to ſerve the Lord, chooſe you this day whom you will ſerve; whether the Gods whom your fathers ſerved before the flood, or the Gods of the Amorites in whoſe land ye dwell: but I and mine houſe will ſerve the Lord.* The indiſpoſition therefore of the Church of Rome to reform herſelf, muſt be no ſtay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as deſire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuſe if we did not perform that duty.

2 Chron. xiii.

Hoſ. iv. 15, and 17. Joſh. xxiv. 15.

Not

Notwithſtanding ſo far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowſhip with them. For even as the Apoſtle doth ſay of Iſrael, that they are in one reſpect enemies, but in another beloved of God; in like ſort with Rome, we dare not communicate concerning ſundry her groſs and grievous abominations; yet touching thoſe main parts of Chriſtian truth wherein they conſtantly ſtill perſiſt, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jeſus Chriſt; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined ſo far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) ſo yield to frame and reform themſelves, that no diſtraction remain in any thing, but that we *all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God the Father of our Lord and Saviour*, whoſe Church we are. As there are which make the Church of Rome utterly no Church at all, by reaſon of ſo many, ſo grievous errors in their doctrines; ſo we have them amongſt us, who, under pretence of imagined corruptions in our diſcipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of England itſelf. But whatſoever either the one ſort or the other teach, we muſt acknowledge even Heretics themſelves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the viſible Church. If an Infidel ſhould purſue to death an Heretic, profeſſing Chriſtianity only for Chriſtian profeſſion ſake, could we deny unto him the honour of martyrdom? Yet this honour all men know to be proper unto the Church. Heretics therefore are not utterly cut off from the viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true viſible Church of Chriſt and heretical companies oppoſite; they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating Heretics, not altogether from the company of believers, but from the fellowſhip of ſound believers. For where profeſſed unbelief is, there can be no viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church, deny di-

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Rom. xi. 28.

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rectly and utterly reject the very principles of Chriſtianity; which Heretics embrace, and err only by miſconſtruction. Whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the principles of Chriſtian Faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians in regard of the general truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſs; yet they are by the Fathers every where ſpoken of, as men clean excluded out of the right believing Church, by reaſon of their particular errors, for which all that are of a ſound belief muſt needs condemn them. In this conſideration, the anſwer of Calvin unto Farel, concerning the children of Popiſh parents, doth ſeem crazed. *Whereas*, ſaith he, *you aſk our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether miniſters of our order, profeſſing the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, may lawfully admit unto baptiſm an infant whoſe father is a ſtranger unto our Churches, and whoſe mother hath fallen from us unto the Papacy, ſo that both the parents are popiſh: thus we have thought good to anſwer; namely, that it is an abſurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned members of our body. And ſith Papiſts' children are ſuch, we ſee not how it ſhould be lawful to miniſter baptiſm unto them.* Sounder a great deal is the anſwer of the Eccleſiaſtical College of Geneva unto Knox, who having ſignified unto them, that himſelf did not think it lawful to baptize baſtards, or the children of idolaters, (he meaneth Papiſts,) or of perſons excommunicate, till either the parents had by repentance ſubmitted themſelves unto the Church, or elſe their children being grown unto the years of underſtanding ſhould come and ſue for their own baptiſm; *for thus thinking*, ſaith he, *I am thought to be over ſevere, and that not only by them which are popiſh; but even in their judgments alſo who think themſelves maintainers of the truth.* Maſter Knox's overſight herein they controlled. Their ſentence was, *Whereſoever*

Calvin. Epiſt. Farello. Ed. Gen. Vol. xii. p. 129.

Knox Calvino.

ever the profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath not utterly periſhed and been extinct, infants are beguiled of their right, if the common ſeal be denied them. Which concluſion in itſelf is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they build it. For the reaſon which they yield of their ſentence is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the faithful concerning their ſeed, reacheth unto a thouſand generations; it reſteth not only in the firſt degree of deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that reſpect belong to the body of the Church, although the fathers and grandfathers of whom they deſcend have been apoſtates: becauſe the tenure of the grace of God, which did adopt them three hundred years ago and more in their ancient predeceſſors, cannot with juſtice be defeated and broken off by their parents' impiety coming between.* By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeem that all the world may be baptized, in as much as no man living is a thouſand deſcents removed from Adam himſelf; yet we mean not at this time either to uphold, or to overthrow it; only their alleged concluſion we embrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort: *that for as much as men remain in the viſible Church, till they utterly renounce the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, we may not deny unto infants their right, by withholding from them the public ſign of holy baptiſm, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Chriſtianity is not clean gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort born, their parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them intereſt and right in baptiſm. Albeit not every error and fault, yet hereſies and crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and clean from that ſalvation which belongeth unto the myſtical body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a ſeparation from the viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the viſible Church neither the one nor the other doth ſever. As for the act of excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the myſtical,

Calvinus Knoxo, p. 322.

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nor clean from the viſible, but only from fellowſhip with the viſible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of Rome deny, that her enemies, whom ſhe holdeth always for Heretics, do at all appertain to the Church of Chriſt; when her own ſo freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach hereſy or propound error, he may notwithſtanding himſelf worſhip idols, think amiſs concerning matters of faith, yea, give himſelf unto acts diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Chriſt under colour and pretence of hereſy, when they cannot but grant it poſſible even for him to be, as touching his own perſonal perſuaſion, heretical, who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of authority over the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which already we have ſet down, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore, in this queſtion, we underſtand no other than only the viſible Church. For preſervation of Chriſtianity there is not any thing more needful, than that ſuch as are of the viſible Church have mutual fellowſhip and ſociety one with another. In which conſideration, as the main body of the ſea being one, yet within divers precincts hath divers names; ſo the Catholic Church is in like ſort divided into a number of diſtinct ſocieties, every of which is termed a Church within itſelf. In this ſenſe the Church is always a viſible ſociety of men; not an aſſembly, but a ſociety. For although the name of the Church be given unto Chriſtian aſſemblies, although any number of Chriſtian men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church, yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of public actions; which actions being ended, the aſſembly diſſolveth itſelf, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled doth no leſs continue afterwards

than

than before. [a] *Where but three are, and they of the laity alſo,* ſaith Tertullian, *yet there is a Church*; that is to ſay, a Chriſtian aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to underſtand it, is a ſociety; that is, a number of men belonging unto ſome Chriſtian fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion, is the public exerciſe of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles' acts, *Inſtruction, breaking of bread, and prayer.* As therefore they that are of the myſtical body of Chriſt, have thoſe inward graces and virtues wherein they differ from all others which are not of the ſame body; again, whoſoever appertain to the viſible body of the Church, they have alſo the notes of external profeſſion, whereby the world knoweth what they are: after the ſame manner, even the ſeveral ſocieties of Chriſtian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening ſeverally, as the Church of Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, England, and ſo the reſt, muſt be endued with correſpondent general properties belonging unto them as they are public Chriſtian ſocieties. And of ſuch properties common unto all ſocieties Chriſtian, it may not be denied that one of the very chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Which word I therefore the rather uſe, becauſe the name of government, as commonly men underſtand it in ordinary ſpeech, doth not compriſe the largeneſs of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applied. For when we ſpeak of government, what doth the greateſt part conceive thereby, but only the exerciſe of ſuperiority peculiar unto rulers and guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-polity will better ſerve, becauſe it containeth both government, and alſo whatſoever beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in public. Neither is any

Acts ii. 46, 47.

[a] Tertul. Exhort. ad Caſtit. Ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet laici.

thing

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thing in this degree more neceſſary than Church-polity, which is a form of ordering the public ſpiritual affairs of the Church of God.

Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular form of Church-polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly unto any ſuch form, are not of neceſſity to ſalvation.

2. But we muſt note, that he which affirmeth ſpeech to be neceſſary amongſt all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men muſt neceſſarily ſpeak one kind of language; even ſo the neceſſity of Polity and Regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be neceſſary in them all; nor is it poſſible that any form of Polity, much leſs of Polity Eccleſiaſtical, ſhould be good, unleſs God himſelf be the author of it. [a] *Thoſe things that are not of God*, (ſaith Tertullian,) *they can have no other than God's adverſary for their author.* Be it whatſoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it muſt be; either as thoſe things ſometimes were, which God ſupernaturally revealed, and ſo delivered them unto Moſes for government of the commonwealth of Iſrael; or elſe as thoſe things which men find out by help of that light which God hath given them unto that end. The very Law of Nature itſelf, which no man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, unleſs that be of God whereof God is the author as well this latter way as the former. But foraſmuch as no form of Church-polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unleſs God be ſo the author of it that it be alſo ſet down in Scripture; they ſhould tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it muſt be there ſet down in whole, or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one form of Polity ever was ſo. Their own to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part, even this which they ſo much oppugn is alſo from thence

[a] Tertul. de cult. fœmin. Æmuli ſint neceſſe eſt, quæ Dei non ſunt. Rom. ii. 15. Lact. lib. vi. c. 8. Ille legis hujus inventor, diſceptator, lator. Cic. iii. de Repub.

taken.

taken. Again, they ſhould tell us, whether only that be taken out of Scripture which is actually and particularly there ſet down; or elſe that alſo which the general principles and rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot ſo much as pretend, that all the parts of their own diſcipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouths are ſtopped, when they would plead againſt all other forms beſides their own; ſeeing their general principles are ſuch as do not particularly preſcribe any one, but ſundry may equally be conſonant unto the general axioms of the Scripture. But to give them ſome larger ſcope, and not to cloſe them up in theſe ſtraits: let their allegations be conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bend themſelves againſt all which deny it neceſſary that any one complete form of Church-polity ſhould be in Scripture. Firſt therefore, whereas it hath been told them that matters of faith, and in general, matters neceſſary unto ſalvation, are of a different nature from ceremonies, order, and the kind of Church-government; and that the one is neceſſary to be expreſsly contained in the Word of God, or elſe manifeſtly collected out of the ſame, the other not ſo; that it is neceſſary not to receive the one, unleſs there be ſomething in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing againſt them may thence be alleged. Although there do not appear any juſt or reaſonable cauſe to reject or diſlike of this; nevertheleſs, as it is not eaſy to ſpeak to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themſelves, but that ſomewhat there will be always which diſpleaſeth; ſo herein for two things we are reproved. [a] The firſt is, miſdiſtin-

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[a] Two things miſliked; the one, that we diſtinguiſh matters of Diſcipline or Church-government from matters of Faith, and neceſſary unto ſalvation: the other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God in abridging the large and rich contents thereof. Their words are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh between theſe, and ſay, that matters of faith and neceſſary unto ſalvation may not

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guiſhing, becauſe matters of Diſcipline and Church-government are (as they ſay) matters neceſſary to ſalvation and of Faith, whereas we put a difference betwixt the one and the other. Our ſecond fault is, injurious dealing with the Scripture of God, as if it contained only the principal points of Religion, ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the form and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than only to cover the Church's nakedneſs, and not chains, bracelets, rings, jewels, to adorn her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. In which caſe our apology ſhall not need to be very long.

That matters of Diſcipline are different

3. The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech which by Nature are divided is the mother of all error. To take away therefore that error which confuſion

not be tolerated in the Church, unleſs they be expreſsly contained in the Word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that ceremonies, order, diſcipline, government in the Church, may not be received againſt the Word of God, and conſequently may be received if there be no word againſt them, although there be none for them: you (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or dividing after this ſort, do prove yourſelf an evil divider. As though matters of diſcipline and kind of government were not matters neceſſary to ſalvation and of faith. It is no ſmall injury which you do unto the Word of God, to pin it in ſo narrow a room as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in the principal points of our religion; or as though the ſubſtance of religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building of the Church were uttered in them; and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertain to the form and faſhion of it; or, as if there were in the Scriptures only to cover the Church's nakedneſs, and not alſo chains, and bracelets, and rings, and other jewels, to adorn her and ſet her out; or that to conclude, there were ſufficient to quench her thirſt, and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter unto her a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. Theſe things you ſeem to ſay, when you ſay, that matters neceſſary to ſalvation, and of faith, are contained in Scripture, eſpecially when you oppoſe theſe things to ceremonies, order, diſcipline, and government. T. C. lib. i. pag. 26.

breedeth,

breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh, is by conceit of mind to ſever things different in Nature, and to diſcern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe we diſtinguiſh where we ſhould not, it may not be denied that we miſdiſtinguiſh. The only trial whether we do ſo, yea or no, dependeth upon compariſon between our conceit and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt, this we conceive, that they are not of one ſuit. Some things are merely of Faith, which things it doth ſuffice that we know and believe; ſome things not only to be known but done, becauſe they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of mere Faith, and muſt be believed. Precepts concerning the works of charity are matters of action; which to know unleſs they be practiſed is not enough. This being ſo clear to all men's underſtandings, I ſomewhat marvel that they eſpecially ſhould think it abſurd to oppoſe Church-government, a plain matter of action unto matters of Faith, who know that themſelves divide the Goſpel into Doctrine and Diſcipline [a]. For if matters of Diſcipline be rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Government by us as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Do not they under Doctrine comprehend the ſame which we intend by matters of Faith? Do not they under Diſcipline compriſe the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us which themſelves follow, they give men great cauſe to doubt that ſome other thing than judgment doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or do, the

from matters of Faith and Salvation; and that they themſelves do teach which are our reprovers.

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpel. And again, p. 5. I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpel. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpel, what other part can they aſſign but Doctrine to anſwer in diviſion to the Diſcipline?

ſame

BOOK III.

ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but only in part, neither ſo fully as is requiſite for man's ſalvation, nor ſo eaſily as to make the way plain and expedite enough that many may come to the knowledge of it, and ſo be ſaved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſary things that the ſchool of Nature teacheth unto that end, and revealeth whatſoever we neither could with ſafety be ignorant of, nor at all be inſtructed in but by ſupernatural revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an error. We teach, that whatſoever is unto ſalvation termed neceſſary by way of excellency; whatſoever it ſtandeth all men upon to know or to do that they may be ſaved; whatſoever there is whereof it may truly be ſaid, *This not to believe, is eternal death and damnation*; or, *This every ſoul that will live, muſt duly obſerve:* of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are; all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not be able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever ſhe is to walk; Heretics and Schiſmatics never ceaſing ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to pervert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſory hereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of ſalvation as to alter them, is no otherwiſe to change that way, than a path is changed by altering only the uppermoſt face thereof; which be it laid with gravel, or ſet with graſs, or paved with ſtones, remaineth ſtill the ſame path; in ſuch things, becauſe diſcretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that againſt Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, leſt that path which ought always to be kept even, do thereby

thereby come to be overgrown with brambles and thorns. If this be unſound, wherein doth the point of unſoundneſs lie? It is not that we make ſome things neceſſary, ſome things acceſſory and appendent only: for our Lord and Saviour himſelf doth make that difference, by terming judgment, and mercy, and fidelity, with other things of like nature, *the greater and weightier matters of the Law.* Is it then in that we account ceremonies, (wherein we do not compriſe Sacraments, or any other the like ſubſtantial duties in the exerciſe of religion, but only ſuch external rites as are uſually annexed unto Church-actions,) is it an overſight that we reckon theſe things and [a] matters of Government in the number of things acceſſory, not things neceſſary in ſuch ſort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable conſider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto garments, which cover the body of the Church; the other unto rings, bracelets, and jewels, that only adorn it? The one to that food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her diet liberal, dainty, and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing neceſſary to the ſuſtenance, or to the clothing of the body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the neceſſity of that which themſelves reſemble by things not neceſſary? or by what conſtruction ſhall any man living be able to make thoſe compariſons true, holding that diſtinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external regiment in the Church and things neceſſary unto ſalvation?

BOOK III.

Matt. xxiii. 23.

4. Now as it can be to Nature no injury that of her we ſay the ſame which diligent beholders of her works have obſerved; namely, that ſhe provideth for

That we do not take from Scripture any

[a] The government of the Church of Chriſt granted by Fenner himſelf to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the ſubſtance of religion, againſt Doctor Bridges, p. 121, if it be Fenner which was the author of that book.

all

BOOK III.

all living creatures nouriſhment that may ſuffice; that ſhe bringeth forth no kind of creature whereto ſhe is wanting in that which is needful: although we do not ſo far magnify her exceeding bounty, as to affirm that ſhe bringeth into the world the ſons of men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh coſtly buildings to ſpring up out of the earth for them: ſo I truſt that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Church's diſcretion in ſome things, is not in any thing to impair the honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the ſacred Scriptures' perfection. Wherein ſeeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture muſt needs teach the Church whatſoever is in ſuch ſort neceſſary as hath been ſet down; and that it is no more diſgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the diſcretion of the Church, than for Nature to have left it to the wit of man to deviſe his own attire, and not to look for it as the beaſts of the field have theirs: if neither this can import, nor any other proof ſufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time or ever did affirm the ſacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only thoſe bare neceſſaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to ſpecial occaſions, as alſo in other manifold reſpects, infinite treaſures of wiſdom are over and beſides abundantly to be found in the holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge worthy the mind of man but from thence it may have ſome direction and light; yea, that although there be no neceſſity it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular form of Church-government, yet touching the manner of governing in general, the precepts that Scripture ſetteth down are not few, and the examples many, which it propoſeth for all Church-governors even in particularities to follow; yea, that thoſe things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular form of Church-polity, (although

thing which may be thereunto given with ſoundneſs of truth. Ariſt. Pol. lib. i. cap. 8. & Plato in Menex. Ariſt. lib. iii. de Animal cap 4, 5.

(although not that form which they imagine, but that which we againſt them uphold,) are in the ſelf-ſame Scriptures contained; if all this be willingly granted by us, which are accuſed to pin the Word of God in ſo narrow a room as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in principal points of our Religion; or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertain to the form and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the accuſed be referred to the accuſer's own conſcience, and let that judge whether this accuſation be deſerved where it hath been laid.

5. But ſo eaſy it is for every man living to err, and ſo hard to wreſt from any man's mouth the plain acknowledgment of error, that what hath been once inconſiderably defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in as long as wit, by whetting itſelf, is able to find out any ſhift, be it never ſo ſlight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it cometh herein to paſs with men unadviſedly fallen into error, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by ſubtile conveyance they draw out of caſual events ariſing from day to day, till at length they be clean ſpent. They which firſt gave out, *that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifeſt words of the Law, [a] *Ye ſhall put nothing unto the Word which I command you, neither ſhall ye take ought therefrom, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.* Wherefore having an eye to a number of rites and orders in the Church of England, as marrying with

Their meaning who firſt did plead againſt the Polity of the Church of England urging that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God, and what Scripture they thought they might ground this aſſertion upon.

[a] Deut. iv. 2. and xii. 32. "Whatſoever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom."

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a ring, croſſing in the one Sacrament, kneeling at the other, obſerving of feſtival-days more than only that which is called the Lord's-day, enjoining abſtinence at certain times from ſome kinds of meat, Churching of Women after childbirth, degrees taken by Divines in Univerſities, ſundry Church offices, dignities, and callings; for which they found no commandment in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one only ſtroke of that axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an oracle, being ſifted, was repelled. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endeavour that any thing may ſeem divine which is not, or any thing not ſeem which is, were plainly to abuſe and even to falſify divine evidence; which injury offered but unto men, is moſt worthily counted heinous. Which point I wiſh they did well obſerve, with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in theſe cauſes, the Law of God, the Word of the Lord; who notwithſtanding, when they come to allege what Word and what Law they mean, their common ordinary practice is, to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome hiſtorical narration or other, and to urge them as if they were written in moſt exact form of Law. What is to add to the Law of God, if this be not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliver hiſtorically, we conſtrue without any warrant, as if it were legally meant, and ſo urge it further than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the Laws of God, and make them in number ſeem more than they are? It ſtandeth us upon to be careful in this caſe: for the ſentence of God is heavy againſt them that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to uſe the Scripture.

The ſame aſſertion we cannot hold, without doing wrong unto all Churches.

6. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to Reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to add to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it; there-

fore

fore we may not for matters of the Church make any Law more than is already ſet down in Scripture. Who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce us to give againſt all Churches in the world, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were raſhneſs? Let the Church of God, even in the time of our Saviour Chriſt, ſerve for example unto all the reſt. [a] In their domeſtical celebration of the Paſſover, which ſupper they divided (as it were) into two courſes; what Scripture did give commandment, that between the firſt and the ſecond, he that was chief ſhould put off the reſidue of his garments, and, keeping on his feaſt-robe only, waſh the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwaſhed in prayer unto God; which cuſtom Ariſtæus (be the credit of the author more or leſs) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerve? What Scripture did command the Jews every * feſtival-day to faſt till the fixth hour? the cuſtom both mentioned by Joſephus in the hiſtory of his own life, and by the words of Peter ſignified. Tedious it were to rip up all ſuch things as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea, by Chriſt himſelf and by his Apoſtles obſerved, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

† 7. Well, yet a gloſs there is to colour that paradox, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appear in ſhew not to be altogether unreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the commandments of God being either general or ſpecial, although there be no expreſs word for every thing in ſpeciality, yet there are general commandments for all things, to the end, that even ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly

* Acts x. 9.

† A ſhift to maintain, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God, namely, that commandments are of two ſorts; and that all things lawful in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpecial precepts, yet by general rules in the word: 1 Cor. x. 32. and xiv. 40. and xv. 26. Rom. xiv. 6, 7. T. C. l. i. p. 35.

[a] John xiii. Cœnatorium: de quo Matth. xxii. 12. Ibi de Cœnatorio nuptiali.

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ticularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, only with caution, that nothing be done againſt the Word of God; and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet down in Scripture four general rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be received in the Church, as do beſt and neareſt agree with the ſame rules, that ſo all things in the Church may be appointed, not only not againſt, but by and according to the Word of God. The rules are theſe, nothing ſcandalous or offenſive unto any, eſpecially unto the Church of God; all things in order and with ſeemlineſs; all unto edification; finally, all to the glory of God. Of which kind, how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much pains? Which rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needs hold that they tie the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe than only becauſe we find them there ſet down by the finger of the Holy Ghoſt. So that unleſs the Apoſtle by writing had delivered thoſe rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſerving them have ſinned, as now by not obſerving them. In the Church of the Jews, is it not granted, that the appointment of the hour for daily ſacrifices; the building of ſynagogues throughout the land to hear the Word of God, and to pray in when they came not up to Jeruſalem; the erecting of pulpits and chairs to teach in; the order of burial; the rites of marriage, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church; yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Church's diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we think? Did they hereby add to the Law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſuaded of them. Doth their Law deliver unto them the ſelf-ſame general rules of the Apoſtle, that framing thereby their orders, they might in that reſpect clear themſelves from doing amiſs? St. Paul would then of likelihood have cited them

them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are rules and canons of that Law which is written in all men's hearts; the Church had for ever no leſs than now ſtood bound to obſerve them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore theſe canons do bind as they are edicts of Nature, which the Jews obſerving as yet unwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect unculpable; it followeth, that ſundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them; but the Church only following the light of Reaſon judge them to be in diſcretion meet. Secondly, unto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or ſpecial it ſkilleth not: for if being particularly applied, they have in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining us to take ſome one certain thing of many, and to leave the reſt; whereby it would come to paſs, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the general rules themſelves in that caſe would be broken; then it is utterly impoſſible that God ſhould leave any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhall grant, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe rules are no ſuch laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerve rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free and lawful it is to deviſe any ceremony, to receive any order, and to authorize any kind of regiment, no ſpecial commandment being thereby violated; and the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth; as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God; that is to ſay, agreeable unto the general rules of holy Scripture; this doth them no good in the world for

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the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt prove that men ought not to make Laws for Church-regiment, but only keep thoſe Laws which in Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the books of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is to ſhew that men may not deviſe Laws of Church-government; but are bound for ever to uſe and to execute only thoſe which God himſelf hath already deviſed and delivered in the Scripture. The ſelf-ſame drift the admonitioners alſo had, in urging, that nothing ought to be done in the Church, according unto any Law of man's deviſing, but all according unto that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembering, they gather out of Scripture general rules to be followed in making Laws; and ſo in effect they plainly grant that we ourſelves may lawfully make Laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take Laws already made, as they meant who firſt alleged that principle whereof we ſpeak. One particular platform it is which they reſpected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas theſe general rules do not let, but that there may well enough be ſundry. It is the particular order eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto thoſe general rules, they know we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gave out that grand axiom; and according unto that meaning it doth prevail far and wide with the favourers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themſelves unto the order of our Church? and in every particular, their anſwer for the moſt part is, *We find no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require ſome ſpecial commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by general

general rules and canons. As therefore, in controverſies between us and the Church of Rome, that which they practiſe is many times even according to the very groſſneſs of that which the vulgar ſort conceiveth; when that which they teach to maintain it is ſo nice and ſubtile, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon: in which caſes we ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according unto the fineſt points of their dark conveyances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their doctrine to go uncontrolled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily received and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath grown in the Church amongſt ourſelves, and how the authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation; *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded:* were it reaſon, that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſs without controlment, in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a ſhift?

Another anſwer in defence of the former aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church-orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, grounded upon the Word, and made according,

8. The laſt refuge in maintaining this poſition, is thus to conſtrue it, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded by the Word of God*; that is to ſay, all Church-orders muſt be *grounded upon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded upon the Word, not that being found out by ſome *ſtar, or light of Reaſon, or learning, or other help*, they may be received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, but according at leaſtwiſe unto the general rules of Scripture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *We know not what to ſay well in defence of this poſition: and therefore, leſt we ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedy but to ſay, that*

at the leaſtwiſe, unto the general rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any ſtar or light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth unlawfully received. Ariſt. Polit. 1.

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in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how. Firſt, that Scholy had need of a very favourable reader and a tractable, that ſhould think it plain conſtruction, when to be *commanded in the Word* and *grounded upon the Word* are made all one. If when a man may live in the ſtate of matrimony, ſeeking that good thereby which Nature principally deſireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life, in regard of

1 Cor. vii. St. Paul's judgment; that which he doth is manifeſtly grounded upon the Word of God, yet not commanded in his Word, becauſe without breach of any commandment he might do otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in juſtice and reaſon can be reproved for thoſe actions which are framed according unto that known will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no ſound Divine in the world ever denied to be in part made manifeſt even by the light of Nature, and not by Scripture alone: if the Church, being directed by the former of theſe two, (which God hath given, who gave the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both,) if the Church, I ſay, do approve and eſtabliſh that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſyllable of holy Scripture; who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldneſs controlling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the light of Nature is made hateful with men; the ſtar of Reaſon and learning, and all other ſuch like helps, beginning no otherwiſe to be thought of than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould never ſhine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards

Apoc. viii. 10, 11. him, but be eſteemed as that ſtar in the Revelation, called Wormwood; which being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth ſo bitter, that men taſting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the Word of God, if in things

things divine they ſhould attribute any force to man's reaſon. For which cauſe they never uſe Reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace Reaſon. Their uſual and common diſcourſes are unto this effect. Firſt, *The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are fooliſhneſs unto him: neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.* 1 Cor. ii. 14. Secondly, it is not for nothing that St. Paul giveth charge to *beware of Philoſophy*, that is to ſay, ſuch knowledge as men by natural Reaſon attain unto. Col. ii. 8. Thirdly, conſider them that have from time to time oppoſed themſelves againſt the Goſpel of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with hereſy. Have they not always been great admirers of human Reaſon? hath their deep and profound ſkill in ſecular learning made them the more obedient to the truth, and not armed them rather againſt it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how heavy his ſentences are in this caſe: *I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will caſt away the underſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer of this world? hath not God made the wiſdom of this world fooliſhneſs? Seeing the world by wiſdom knew not God; in the wiſdom of God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave believers.* 1 Cor. i. 19. Fifthly, the Word of God in itſelf is abſolute, exact, and perfect. The Word of God is a two-edged ſword; as for the weapons of natural Reaſon, they are as the armour of Saul, rather cumberſome about the ſoldier of Chriſt than needful. They are not of force to do that which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did by the power of the Holy Ghoſt: *My preaching*, there- 1 Cor. ii. 4. fore ſaith Paul, *hath not been in the enticing ſpeech of man's wiſdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit of power; that your faith might not be in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.* Sixthly, if I believe the Goſpel, there needeth no reaſoning about it to perſuade me; if I do not believe, it muſt be the Spirit of God, and not the Reaſon of man, that ſhall

convert

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convert my heart unto him. By theſe and the like diſputes, an opinion hath ſpread itſelf very far in the world; as if the way to be ripe in Faith were to be raw in wit and judgment; as if Reaſon were an enemy unto Religion, childiſh Simplicity the mother of ghoſtly and divine Wiſdom. The cauſe why ſuch declamations prevail ſo greatly is, for that men ſuffer themſelves in two reſpects to be deluded. One is, that the wiſdom of man being debaſed, either in compariſon with that of God, or in regard of ſome ſpecial thing exceeding the reach and compaſs thereof, it ſeemeth to them (not marking ſo much) as if ſimply it were condemned. Another, that learning, knowledge, or wiſdom, falſely ſo termed, uſurping a name whereof they are not worthy, and being under that name controlled; their reproof is by ſo much the more eaſily miſapplied, and through equivocation wreſted againſt thoſe things whereunto ſo precious names do properly and of right belong. This, duly obſerved, doth to the former allegations itſelf make ſufficient anſwer. Howbeit, for all men's plainer and fuller ſatisfaction; Firſt, concerning the inability of Reaſon, to ſearch out and to judge of things divine, if they be ſuch as thoſe properties of God, and thoſe duties of men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive conſideration of heaven and earth; we know that of mere natural men, the Apoſtle teſtifieth, *How they knew both God, and the Law of God*: Other things of God there be, which are neither ſo found, nor, though they be ſhewed, can ever be approved without the ſpecial operation of God's good Grace and Spirit. Of ſuch things ſometime ſpake the Apoſtle St. Paul, declaring how Chriſt had called him to be a witneſs of his death and reſurrection from the dead, according to that which the Prophets and Moſes had foreſhewed. Feſtus, a mere natural man, an Infidel, a Roman, one whoſe ears were unacquainted with ſuch matter, heard him, but could not reach unto

Rom. i. 21, 32.

Acts xxv. 19.

that

that whereof he ſpake; the ſuffering, and the riſing of Chriſt from the dead, he rejected as idle ſuperſtitious fancies not worth the hearing. The Apoſtle that knew them by the Spirit, and ſpake of them with power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifeſt what elſewhere the ſame Apoſtle teacheth, namely, that Nature hath need of Grace, whereunto I hope we are not oppoſite, by holding that Grace hath uſe of Nature. Secondly, Philoſophy we are warranted to take heed of; not that Philoſophy, which is true and ſound knowledge attained by natural diſcourſe of Reaſon; but that Philoſophy, which to bolſter Hereſy or Error caſteth a fraudulent ſhew of Reaſon upon things which are indeed unreaſonable; and by that mean, as by a ſtratagem, ſpoileth the ſimple which are not able to withſtand ſuch cunning. *Take heed leſt any ſpoil you through Philoſophy and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth to beware of an enemy's policy, doth not give counſel to be impolitic; but rather to uſe all prudent foreſight and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be over-reached by cunning ſleights. The way not to be inveigled by them that are ſo guileful through ſkill, is throughly to be inſtructed in that which maketh ſkilful againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere Philoſophy, which doth teach againſt that deceitful and vain, which ſpoileth. Thirdly, but many great Philoſophers have been very unſound in belief: and many ſound in belief, have been alſo great Philoſophers. Could ſecular knowledge bring the one ſort unto the love of Chriſtian Faith? Nor Chriſtian Faith, the other ſort out of love with ſecular knowledge. The harm that Heretics did, they did it unto ſuch as were unable to diſcern between ſound and deceitful reaſoning; and the remedy againſt it was ever the ſkill which the ancient Fathers had to deſcry and diſcover ſuch deceit. Inſomuch, that Creſconius the Heretic complained greatly of St. Auguſtine,

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Acts xxvi. 24. 1 Cor. ii. 14.

II.

Col. ii. 8.

III.

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Auguſtine, as being too full of logical ſubtilties. Hereſy prevaileth only by a counterfeit ſhew of Reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becometh invincible, unleſs it be convicted of fraud by manifeſt remonſtrance, clearly true, and unable to be with-

Tit. i. 9, 11. ſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth ability to convict Heretics, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful to uſe the principal inſtrument of their conviction, the light of Reaſon. It may not be denied, but that in the Fathers' writings there are ſundry ſharp invectives againſt Heretics, even for their very philoſophical reaſonings; the cauſe whereof Tertullian confeſſeth, not to have been any diſlike conceived againſt the kind of ſuch reaſonings, but the end.

Tert. de Reſur. Carnis. Edit. Par. pag. 381. *We may* (ſaith he) *even in matters of God be made wiſer by reaſons drawn from the public perſuaſions which are grafted in men's minds; ſo they be uſed to further the truth, not to bolſter error; ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things even known by Nature, as the immortality of the ſoul to many, our God unto all. I will therefore myſelf alſo uſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as Plato, pronouncing every ſoul immortal. I myſelf too will uſe the ſecret acknowledgment of the commonalty, bearing record of the God of gods:—But when I hear men allege, that which is dead, is dead; and while thou art alive, be alive; and, after death an end of all, even of death itſelf: then will I call to mind both, that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very wiſdom of the world is pronounced folly. If then an Heretic fly alſo unto ſuch vicious, popular, and ſecular conceits, my anſwer unto him ſhall be; Thou Heretic, avoid the Heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God; yet thou that doſt this under the name of Chriſt, differeſt from the Heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thyſelf a Chriſtian. Leave him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will he learn thine. Why doſt thou, having ſight, truſt to a blind guide? thou which*

which haſt put on Chriſt, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle have armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtranger's ſhield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the reſurrection of the fleſh. In a word, the Catholic Fathers did good unto all by that knowledge, whereby Heretics hindering the truth in many, might have furthered therewith themſelves, but that obſtinately following their own ambitious, or otherwiſe corrupted affections, inſtead of framing their wills to maintain that which Reaſon taught, they bent their wits to find how Reaſon might ſeem to teach that which their wills were ſet to maintain. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them juſtly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned even in and of themſelves. For though they be not all perſuaded, that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be error which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the ſooner a great deal attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they have ſtood in, than to find out ſincerely and ſimply what truth they ought to perſiſt in for ever. BOOK III. Tit. iii. 11.

IV. Fourthly, there is in the world no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of truth is ſeen, but we juſtly account it precious; yea, that principal truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it ſome kind of light; whether it be that Egyptian and Chaldean wiſdom mathematical, wherewith Moſes and Daniel were furniſhed; or that natural, moral, and civil wiſdom, wherewith Solomon excelled all men; or that rational and oratorial wiſdom of the Grecians, which the Apoſtle St. Paul brought from Tarſus; or that Judaical which he learned in Jeruſalem, ſitting at the feet of Gamaliel; to detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himſelf, who being that light which none can approach unto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, even as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the bright Fountain from which they Acts vii. 22. Dan. i. 17. 1 Kings iv. 29, 30. Acts xxii. 3.

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they riſe. But there are that bear the title of wiſe men, and ſcribes, and great diſputers of the world, and are indeed nothing leſs than what in ſhew they moſt appear. Theſe being wholly addicted unto their own wills, uſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdom they have, to maintain that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming, in the frantic error of their minds, the greateſt madneſs in the world to be wiſdom, and the higheſt wiſdom fooliſhneſs. Such were both Jews and Grecians which profeſſed, the one ſort legal, and the other ſecular ſkill, neither enduring to be taught the myſtery of Chriſt: unto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed name, who ſo ſtudy to uſe both their Reaſon and all other gifts, as well which Nature as which Grace has endued them with; let them never doubt, but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound utterly that wiſdom falſely ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes;

Matt. xiii. 52. Scribes by wiſdom inſtructed to the kingdom of Heaven; not Scribes againſt that kingdom hardened in a vain opinion of wiſdom, which in the end being proved folly, muſt needs periſh; true underſtanding, knowledge, judgment, and reaſon, con-

V. tinuing for evermore. Fifthly, unto the Word of God, being in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in itſelf, we do not add Reaſon as a ſupplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a neceſſary inſtrument, without which we could not reap by the Scriptures' perfection that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth.

Heb. iv. 12. *The Word of God is a two-edged ſword*, put in the hands of reaſonable men; and Reaſon as the weapon that ſlew Goliah, if they be as David was that uſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he which gave them from above ſuch power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them alſo with wiſdom from above to teach that which they ſo did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of twelve ſimple and

and unlearned men, that the greater their lack of natural wiſdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God ſupernaturally endued them with from Heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and ſilly eſtate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the wiſdom of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more attentive unto their teaching. They ſtudied for no tongue they ſpake withal: of themſelves they were rude, and knew not ſo much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them ſpeech and eloquent utterance. But becauſe with St. Paul it was otherwiſe than with the reſt, inaſmuch as he never converſed with Chriſt upon earth as they did; and his education had been ſcholaſtical altogether, which theirs was not; hereby occaſion was taken by certain malignants ſecretly to undermine his great authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpel had been taught him by others than by Chriſt himſelf, and as if the cauſe of the Gentiles' converſion and belief, through his means, had been the learning and ſkill which he had by being converſant in their books, which thing made them ſo willing to hear him, and him ſo able to perſuade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles prevailed, becauſe God was with them, and by a miracle from Heaven confirmed his Word in their mouths: they were mighty in deeds. As for him, being abſent, his writings had ſome force; in preſence, his power not like unto theirs. In ſum, concerning his preaching, their very by-word was, λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle ſpeech, empty talk*; his writings full of great words; but in the power of miraculous operations, his preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth, that St. Paul was ſo often driven to make his apologies. Hereupon it ariſeth, that whatſoever time he had ſpent in the ſtudy of human learning, he maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of Corinth, that the Goſpel which he had preached amongſt them did not by other means prevail with them, than with others

2 Cor. x. 10.

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the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *My preaching*, ſaith he, *hath not been in the perſuaſive ſpeeches of human wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith may not be in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God.* What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that his ſpeech amongſt them had been perſuaſive? No; for of him the ſacred hiſtory plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a year and a half he ſpake in their ſynagogue every ſabbath, and perſuaded both Jews and Grecians. How then is the ſpeech of men made perſuaſive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to paſs, the one human, the other divine. Either St. Paul did only by art and natural induſtry cauſe his own ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authorize it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? if the preaching of the reſt had been effectual by miracle, his only by force of his own learning; ſo great inequality between him and the other Apoſtles in this thing had been enough to ſubvert their faith. For might they not with Reaſon have thought, that if he were ſent of God as well as they, God would not have furniſhed them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghoſt? Might not a great part of them, being ſimple, haply have feared leſt their aſſent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakneſs of their own wits than the certainty of that truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been, that all believers through the preaching of other Apoſtles ſhould have their faith ſtrongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation; and they whom he had converted ſhould have their perſuaſion built only upon his ſkill and wiſdom who perſuaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorize us to teach, although it could not authorize him to teach as other Apoſtles did; ſo although the wiſdom of man had

1 Cor. ii. 4.

Acts xviii. 4, 11.

had not been sufficient to enable him to be such a teacher as the rest of the Apostles were, unless God's miracles had strengthened both the one and the other's doctrine; yet unto our ability, both of teaching and learning the truth of Christ, as we are but mere Christian men, it is not a little which the wisdom of man may add. Sixthly, yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and to his truth, believe we or be we as yet faithless, for our conversion or confirmation, the force of natural Reason is great. The force whereof unto those effects is nothing without grace. What then? to our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honour, and obey God, whosoever believeth in him; that man would no more do this than innocents and infants do, but for the light of natural Reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to persuade reasonable minds and none other, that honour, obedience, and credit, belong aright unto God. No man cometh unto God to offer him sacrifice, to pour out supplications and prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him. Let men be taught this either by revelation from heaven, or by instruction upon earth; by labour, study, and meditation, or by the only secret inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of natural Reason; why should none be found capable thereof but only men, nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but only to teach theology? Theology, what is it, but the science of things divine? What science can be attained unto, without the help of natural discourse and Reason? *Judge you of that which I speak*, saith the Apostle. In vain it were

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Heb. xi. 6.

1 Cor. x. 15.

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were to ſpeak any thing of God, but that by Reaſon men are able ſomewhat to judge of that they hear, and by diſcourſe to diſcern how conſonant it is to truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things above Nature, things which our Reaſon by itſelf could not reach unto. Yet thoſe things alſo we believe, knowing by Reaſon, that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the preſence of Feſtus a Roman, and of King Agrippa a Jew, St. Paul omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews' religion, nor the books whereby they were taught it, ſpeaks unto the other of things foreſhewed by Moſes and the Prophets, and performed in Jeſus Chriſt, intending thereby to prove himſelf ſo unjuſtly accuſed, that unleſs his judges did condemn both Moſes and the Prophets, him they could not chooſe but acquit, who taught only that fulfilled which they ſo long ſince had foretold. His cauſe was eaſy to be diſcerned; what was done, their eyes were witneſſes; what Moſes and the Prophets did ſpeak, their books could quickly ſhew; it was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. *King Agrippa, believeſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is, how the books of the Prophets came to be credited of King Agrippa. For what with him did authorize the Prophets, the like with us doth cauſe the reſt of the Scripture of God to be of credit. Becauſe we maintain, that in Scripture we are taught all things neceſſary unto ſalvation; hereupon very childiſhly it is by ſome demanded, what Scripture can teach us the ſacred authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole faith and ſalvation dependeth? As though there were any kind of ſcience in the world which leadeth men unto knowledge, without preſuppoſing a number of things already known. No ſcience doth make known the firſt principles whereon it buildeth; but they are always either taken as plain and manifeſt in themſelves, or as proved and granted already,

Acts xxvi. 27.

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ſome former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all ſupernatural revealed truth; without the knowledge whereof ſalvation cannot be attained. The main principle, whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, that the Scriptures are the oracles of God himſelf. This in itſelf we cannot ſay is evident. For then all men that hear it, would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that every whole is more than any part of that whole, becauſe this in itſelf is evident. The other we know, that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There muſt be therefore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed, which doth herein aſſure the hearts of all believers. Scripture teacheth us that ſaving truth which God hath diſcovered unto the world by Revelation; and it preſumeth us taught otherwiſe, that itſelf is divine and ſacred. The queſtion then being, by what means we are taught this: ſome anſwer, that to learn it we have no other way than only tradition; as namely, that ſo we believe, becauſe both we from our predeceſſors, and they from theirs have ſo received. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them, may not in any wiſe be denied. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward motive leading men ſo to eſteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the firſt an impudent thing for any man, bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cauſe. Afterwards the more we beſtow our labour in reading or hearing the myſteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itſelf doth anſwer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing ſomewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath miniſtered further reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chance at any time to call it in queſtion, this giveth us occaſion

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caſion to ſift what reaſon there is, whereby the teſtimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own perſuaſion which Scripture itſelf hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which caſe the ancient Fathers, being often conſtrained to ſhew, what warrant they had ſo much to rely upon the Scriptures, endeavoured ſtill to maintain the authority of the books of God by arguments, ſuch as unbelievers themſelves muſt needs think reaſonable, if they judged thereof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, or greatly hard, even by ſuch kind of proofs ſo to manifeſt and clear that point, that no man living ſhall be able to deny it, without denying ſome apparent principle, ſuch as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I believe the Goſpel, yet is Reaſon of ſingular uſe, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: if I do not as yet believe, nevertheleſs to bring me into the number of believers, except Reaſon did ſomewhat help, and were an inſtrument which God doth uſe unto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boot to diſpute with Infidels or godleſs perſons for their converſion and perſuaſion in that point? Neither can I think that when grave and learned men do ſometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof but by the teſtimony of the Spirit, which aſſureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of Reaſon may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſsly ſet down, that other motives and inducements, be they never ſo ſtrong and conſonant unto Reaſon, are notwithſtanding ineffectual of themſelves to work Faith concerning this principle, if the ſpecial grace of the Holy Ghoſt concur not to the enlightening of our minds. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but men of wiſdom and judgment will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with Reaſon to ſtop the mouths of her impious adverſaries; and that as it were altogether bootleſs to allege againſt them

them what the Spirit hath taught us, ſo likewiſe, that even to our own ſelves it needeth caution and explication, how the teſtimony of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what means it may be known, leſt men think that the Spirit of God doth teſtify thoſe things which the ſpirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the Spirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be common unto all true Chriſtian men, are, as we know, things ſecret and undiſcernible even to the very ſoul where they are, becauſe their nature is of another and an higher kind than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodneſs; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in us are ſo privy and ſecret, we therefore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by Reaſon from the quality of things believed or done that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, than if we ſettle ourſelves to believe or to do any certain particular thing as being moved thereto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the books of Scripture, to the ſenſe and meaning thereof, becauſe the ſentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the Pſalms, to prove the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, did not prove it, if ſo be the Prophet David meant them of himſelf. This expoſition therefore they plainly diſprove, and ſhew by manifeſt Reaſon that of David the words of David could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the uſe of natural reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture, concerning the Articles of our Faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our Faith who can aſſure us? That which by right expoſition buildeth up Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth error; between true and falſe conſtruction, the difference Reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men perform that which Peter requireth at their hands? Is it poſſible they ſhould both believe, and be able without the uſe of Reaſon, to render *a reaſon of their belief*, a reaſon ſound and

Acts xiii. 36. and ii. 34.

1 Pet. iii. 15.

 ſufficient

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ſufficient to anſwer them that demand it, be they of the ſame Faith with us, or enemies thereunto? May we cauſe our Faith without Reaſon to appear reaſonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of learners in the ſchool of Chriſt, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto ſuch ripeneſs muſt needs be ſomewhat more than only to read the ſentences of Scripture, and then paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry forms of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend itſelf unto the world by that eaſineſs and facility which is in it; but a law or a pattern it is not, as ſome do imagine, for all men to follow that will do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Saviour himſelf did hope by diſputation to do ſome good, yea, by diſputation not only of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the Son of David, was truth; yet againſt this truth, our Lord in the Goſpel objecteth; *If Chriſt be the Son of David, how doth David call him Lord?* There is as yet no way known how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the uſe of natural Reaſon. If we pleaſe to add unto Chriſt their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could, the Sermon of Paul and Barnabas, ſet down in the Acts, where the people would have offered unto them ſacrifice; in that Sermon what is there, but only natural Reaſon to diſprove their act? *O men, why do ye theſe things? We are men even ſubject to the ſelf-ſame paſſions with you: we preach unto you to leave theſe vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himſelf without witneſs; in that he hath done good to the world, giving rain and fruitful ſeaſons, filling our hearts with joy and gladneſs.* Neither did they only uſe Reaſon in winning ſuch unto a Chriſtian belief, as were yet thereto unconverted, but with believers themſelves they followed the ſelf-ſame courſe. In that

Matt. xxii. 43.

Acts xiv. 15.

great

great and ſolemn aſſembly of believing Jews, how doth Peter prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the grace of God, as well as they, but by Reaſon drawn from thoſe effects which were apparently known amongſt them: *God, which knoweth the hearts, hath born them witneſs in giving unto them the Holy Ghoſt, as unto you.* The light therefore, which the ſtar of natural Reaſon and wiſdom caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two uttered to diminiſh that opinion which juſtly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch moſt nearly the principal duties of men and the glory of the eternal God. In all which hitherto hath been ſpoken, touching the force and uſe of man's Reaſon in things divine, I muſt crave that I be not ſo underſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing, by virtue thereof, could be done without the aid and aſſiſtance of God's moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the queſtion moved about it; which queſtion is, whether the light of Reaſon be ſo pernicious, that, in deviſing Laws for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may be fit and convenient? For this cauſe therefore we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the nature of Reaſon itſelf there is no impediment, but that the ſelf-ſame Spirit which revealeth the things that God hath ſet down in his Law, may alſo be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the light of Reaſon what Laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom human Laws are defined to be ordinances, which ſuch as have lawful authority given them for that purpoſe do probably draw from the Laws of Nature and God, by diſcourſe of Reaſon aided with the influence of divine grace: and for that cauſe, it is not ſaid amiſs touching Eccleſiaſtical Canons, *That by inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt they*

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Acts xv. 8.

Violatores, cap. xx. q. 1.

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they have been made, and consecrated by the reverend acceptation of the world.

How Laws for the Regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men following therein the light of Reason, and how those Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God are approved in his sight.

9. Laws for the Church are not made as they should be, unless the makers follow such direction as they ought to be guided by; wherein, that Scripture standeth not the Church of God in any stead, or serveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let pass as needless to be consulted with, we judge it profane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make Laws which the Scripture hath already made, because what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there resteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet because both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by Law to provide, that the looseness and slackness of men may not cause the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are, for which the Scripture hath not provided by any Law, but left them unto the careful discretion of the Church; we are to search how the Church in these cases may be well directed to make that provision by Laws which is most convenient and fit. And what is so in these cases, partly Scripture, and partly Reason must teach to discern. Scripture comprehending Examples and Laws; Laws, some natural, and some positive; Examples neither are there for all cases which require Laws to be made, and when there are, they can but direct as precedents only. Natural Laws direct in such sort, that in all things we must for ever do according unto them; positive so, that against them in no case we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is, that they should remain in force. Howbeit, when Scripture doth yield us precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth natural Laws, what particular order is thereunto most agreeable, when positive, which way to make Laws unrepugnant unto them; yea, though all these should want,

want, yet what kind of ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this muſt be by Reaſon found out. And therefore, [a] *To refuſe the conduct of the light of Nature*, ſaith St. Auguſtine, *is not folly alone, but accompanied with impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the ſchool Divines, ſtudying how to ſet down by exact definition the Nature of an human Law, (of which Nature all the Church's Conſtitutions are,) found not which way better to do it, than in theſe words: [b] *Out of the precepts of the Law of Nature, as out of certain common and undemonſtrable principles, man's Reaſon doth neceſſarily proceed unto certain more particular determinations: which particular determinations being found out according unto the Reaſon of man, they have the names of human Laws, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of Laws doth require*, that is, if they whoſe authority is thereunto required, do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as Laws. And the truth is, that all our controverſy in this cauſe concerning the orders of the Church is, what particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out, is the force of man's Reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his Reaſon, is firſt, the general Law of Nature; which Law of Nature and the moral Law of Scripture, are in the ſubſtance of Law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of Laws particular and poſitive, which being in force may not by any Law of man be violated, we are in making Laws to have thereunto an eſpecial eye. As

[a] Luminis naturalis dictatum repellere, non modo ſtultum eſt, ſed et impium. Auguſt. de Trin.

[b] Tho. Aqui. q. 91. in concluſione art. 3. Ed. Lugd. tom. i. par. ii. pag. 288. Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principiis communibus et indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quod Ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinventæ ſecundum Rationem humanam dicuntur Leges humanæ, obſervatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem Legis.

for

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for example, it might perhaps ſeem reaſonable unto the Church of God, following the general Laws concerning the nature of marriage, to ordain in particular that couſin-germans ſhall not marry. Which Law notwithſtanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there ſhould be in the Scripture a Law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the bonds of marriage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame Thomas therefore, whoſe definition of human Laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this caution concerning the rule and canon whereby to make them: *Human Laws are meaſures* in reſpect of men, whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures they are, as have alſo their higher rules to be meaſured by, *which rules are two, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature.* So that Laws human muſt be made according to the general Laws of Nature, and without contradiction unto any poſitive Law in Scripture; otherwiſe they are ill made. Unto Laws thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the boſom of that Church muſt not think it a matter indifferent either to yield, or not to yield obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My ſon, keep thy father's commandment*, ſaith Solomon, *and forget not thy mother's inſtruction; bind them both always about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the duty which we owe to our heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our mother the Church we ſhould ſhew ourſelves diſobedient. Let us not ſay we keep the commandments of the one, when we break the Law of the other: for unleſs we obſerve both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obſerve both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch Laws only we ſpeak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the Laws of Almighty God. Yea, that which is more, the Laws thus made, God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe

Quæſt. 95. Art. 3.

1 Cor. xi. 22. Prov. vi. 20, 21.

ſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts have embraced, holding that a Chriſtian man's liberty is loſt, and the ſoul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the yoke of human power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: in obedience whereunto, the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of man, is to lead us, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God are the ſons of God*, and not ſuch as live in thraldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore, that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no Law-makers but the Evangeliſts. The author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of natural underſtanding, wit and reaſon, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the mother thereof is our own darkneſs, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the author. He is the author of all that we think or do, by virtue of that light which himſelf hath given. And therefore the Laws which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo far forth as they proceed from the light of Nature, God himſelf doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himſelf, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the author of thoſe Laws which have been made by his ſaints, endued farther with the heavenly grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtructions as his ſacred Word doth yield? Surely, if we have unto thoſe Laws that dutiful regard which their dignity doth require, it will not greatly need that we ſhould be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himſelf for their author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot chooſe but redound unto him.

Rom. viii. 14.

John. i. 9.

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him. The ſafeſt, and unto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our lives therefore, is with all humility, lowlineſs, and ſingleneſs of heart, to ſtudy which way our willing obedience, both unto God and man, may be yielded, even to the utmoſt of that which is due.

That neither God's being the author of Laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were inſtituted, is any reaſon ſufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

10. Touching the mutability of Laws that concern the Regiment and Polity of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this queſtion about the changing of Laws concerneth only ſuch Laws as are poſitive, and do make that now good or evil, by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwiſe of itſelf were not ſimply the one or the other. Unto ſuch Laws it is expreſsly ſometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expreſſed, then have we no light to direct our judgments concerning the changeableneſs or immutability of them, but by conſidering the nature and quality of ſuch Laws. The nature of every Law muſt be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptneſs of things therein preſcribed unto the ſame end. It may ſo fall out, that the reaſon why ſome Laws of God were given, is neither opened nor poſſible to be gathered by the wit of man. As why God ſhould forbid Adam that one tree, there was no way for Adam ever to have certainly underſtood. And at Adam's ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more ſecurely a falſe cauſe, becauſe the true was unto Adam unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to plough their ground with an ox and an aſs; why to clothe themſelves with mingled attire of wool and linen, it was both unto them, and to us it remaineth obſcure. Such Laws perhaps cannot be abrogated, ſaving only by whom they were made; becauſe the intent of them being known unto none but the Author, he alone can judge how long it is requiſite they

Deut. xxii. 10, 11.

ſhould

ſhould endure. But if the reaſon why things were inſtituted may be known, and being known, do appear manifeſtly to be of perpetual neceſſity; then are thoſe things alſo perpetual, unleſs they ceaſe to be effectual unto that purpoſe for which they were at the firſt inſtituted. Becauſe when a thing doth ceaſe to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it muſt then of neceſſity appear ſuperfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how ſometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards, when time hath changed the ancient courſe of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not ſo greatly profitable and neceſſary. If therefore the end for which a Law provideth be perpetually neceſſary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually alſo moſt apt, no doubt but that every ſuch Law ought for ever to remain unchangeable. Whether God be the author of Laws, by authorizing that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himſelf by word only, or in writing alſo, or howſoever; notwithſtanding the authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them alſo changeable. The Law of ceremonies came from God. Moſes had commandment to commit it unto the ſacred records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour, in force ſtill as the Jew furmiſeth, becauſe God himſelf was author of it; and for us to aboliſh what he hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intolerable. But (that which they in the blindneſs of their obdurate hearts are not able to diſcern) ſith the end for which that Law was ordained is now fulfilled, paſt, and gone; how ſhould it but ceaſe any longer to be, which hath no longer any cauſe of being in force as before? [a] *That which neceſſity of ſome ſpecial time doth cauſe to be enjoined,*

[a] Quod pro neceſſitate temporis ſtatutum eſt; ceſſante neceſſitate debet ceſſare pariter quod urgebat. i. q. 1.

[b] *bindeth*

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bindeth no longer than during that time, but doth afterward become free. Which thing alſo is plain, even by that Law which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the Council of Jeruſalem did from thence deliver unto the Church of Chriſt; the preface whereof to authorize it was, *To the Holy Ghoſt and to us it hath ſeemed good:* which ſtyle they did not uſe as matching themſelves in power with the Holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the Holy Ghoſt to be the author, and themſelves but only utterers of that decree. This Law therefore to have proceeded from God as the author thereof, no faithful man will deny. It was of God, not only becauſe God gave them the power whereby they might make Laws, but for that it proceeded even from the holy motion and ſuggeſtion of that ſecret divine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithſtanding, as the Law of Ceremonies delivered unto the Jews, ſo this very Law which the Gentiles received from the mouth of the Holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was given. But ſuch as do not ſtick at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath been inſtituted upon any ſpecial cauſe needeth not to be obſerved, that cauſe ceaſing, do notwithſtanding herein fail: they judge the Laws of God only by the author and main end for which they were made, ſo that for us to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that mean provideth be permanent. And upon this they ground thoſe ample diſputes concerning Orders and Offices, which being by him appointed for the Government of his Church, if it be neceſſary always that the Church of Chriſt be governed, then doth the end for which God provided remain ſtill; and therefore in thoſe means which he by Law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt unto that end, for us to alter any thing is to lift up ourſelves againſt God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not that Laws are inſtruments

Acts xv. 28.

Counterp. p. 8.

ſtruments to rule by, and that inſtruments are not only to be framed according unto the general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore Laws were made may be permanent, and thoſe Laws nevertheleſs require ſome alteration, if there be any unfitneſs in the means which they preſcribe as tending unto that end and purpoſe. As for example, a Law that to bridle theft doth puniſh thieves with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the world itſelf continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this Law provideth for that end, namely, the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will be alway ſufficient to bridle and reſtrain that kind of enormity, no man can warrant. Inſufficiency of Laws doth ſometimes come by want of judgment in the makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any Law termed properly and immediately divine, as it may and doth into human Laws often. But that which hath been once made ſufficient, may wax otherwiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath been ſometime forcible to bridle ſin, may grow afterwards too weak and feeble. In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of thoſe three Laws which the Jews received at the hands of God, the moral, ceremonial, and judicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto, God maketh his Laws, continue always one and the ſame, his Laws alſo do the like, for which cauſe the moral Law cannot be altered. Secondly, that whether the matter whereon Laws are made continue or continue not, if their end have once ceaſed, they ceaſe alſo to be of force; as in the Law ceremonial it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in the Law of theft ſpecified, and in a great part of thoſe ancient judicials it doth; yet foraſmuch as there is not in all reſpects the ſame

ſubject

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ſubject or matter remaining, for which they were firſt inſtituted, even this is ſufficient cauſe of change. And therefore Laws, though both ordained of God himſelf, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithſtanding ceaſe, if by alteration of perſons or times they be found unſufficient to attain unto that end. In which reſpect why may we not preſume that God doth even call for ſuch change or alteration as the very condition of things themſelves doth make neceſſary? They which do therefore plead the authority of the Law-maker as an argument wherefore it ſhould not be lawful to change that which he hath inſtituted, and will have this the cauſe why all the Ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the wiſdom of God as a proof, that whatſoever Laws he hath made, they ought to ſtand, unleſs himſelf from heaven proclaim them diſannulled, becauſe it is not in man to correct the Ordinance of God; may know, if it pleaſe them to take notice thereof, that we are far from preſuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that men ſhould preſume to undo ſome things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath, that have been changed, and that for the better. That which ſucceedeth as better now when change is requiſite, had been worſe when that which now is changed was inſtituted. Otherwiſe God had not then left this to chooſe that, neither would now reject that, to chooſe this, were it not for ſome new grown occaſion, making that which hath been better worſe. In this caſe therefore men do not preſume to change God's Ordinance, but they yield thereunto, requiring itſelf to be changed. Againſt this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Goſpel of Chriſt, if men or angels ſhould attempt, it were moſt heinous and curſed ſacrilege. And the Goſpel, as they ſay, containeth not

not only Doctrine inſtructing men how they ſhould BOOK believe, but alſo precepts concerning the Regiment III. of the Church. [a] Diſcipline therefore is a part of the Goſpel, and God being the author of the whole Goſpel, as well of Diſcipline as of Doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cauſe. So that as we are to believe for ever the Articles of Evangelical Doctrine, ſo the Precepts of Diſcipline we are in like ſort bound for ever to obſerve. Touching points of Doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Perſons, Salvation by Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the Body, Life everlaſting, the Judgment to come, and ſuch like, they have been ſince the firſt hour that there was a Church in the world, and till the laſt they muſt be believed; but as for matters of Regiment, they are for the moſt part of another nature. To make new Articles of Faith and Doctrine, no man thinketh it lawful; new Laws of Government, what Commonwealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The rule of Faith*, ſaith Tertullian, *is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impoſſible to be framed or caſt anew.* The Law of outward Order and Polity not ſo. There is no reaſon in the world wherefore we ſhould eſteem it as neceſſary always to do, as always to believe the ſame things; ſeeing every man knoweth that the matter of Faith is conſtant, the matter contrariwiſe of Action daily changeable, eſpecially the matter of Action belonging unto Church-polity. Neither can I find that men of ſoundeſt judgment have any otherwiſe taught, than that Articles of Belief, and things which all men muſt of neceſſity do to the end they may

Tert. de veland. Virg. Ed. Par. pag. 192. C. Mart. in 1 Sam. xiv.

[a] We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpel, and therefore to have a common cauſe; ſo that in the repulſe of the Diſcipline, the Goſpel receives a check. And again, I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpel; and therefore neither under nor above the Goſpel, but the Goſpel. T. C. l. ii. p. 14.

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be ſaved, are either expreſsly ſet down in Scripture, or elſe plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to Diſcipline and outward Polity, the Church hath authority to make Canons, Laws, and Decrees, even as we read, that in the Apoſtles' times it did. Which kind of Laws (for as much as they are not in themſelves neceſſary to Salvation) may, after they are made, be alſo changed as the difference of times or places ſhall require. Yea, it is not denied, I am ſure, by themſelves, that certain things in Diſcipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Whereupon I demand, are thoſe changeable points of Diſcipline commanded in the Word of God, or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the Church, how can their former poſition ſtand, condemning all things in the Church which in the Word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may ſuffer change; how can this latter ſtand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their diſtinction touching matters of ſubſtance and circumſtance, though true, will not ſerve. For be they great things, or be they ſmall, if God have commanded them in the Goſpel, and his commanding them in the Goſpel do make them unchangeable, there is no reaſon we ſhould more change the one, than we may the other. If the authority of the Maker do prove unchangeableneſs in the Laws which God hath made, then muſt all Laws which he hath made, be neceſſarily for ever permanent, though they be but of circumſtance only, and not of ſubſtance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being author of Laws for Government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient, wherefore all Churches ſhould for ever be bound to keep them without change. But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way: for whereas in this diſcourſe, we have oftentimes

Acts xv.

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profeſſed, that many parts of Diſcipline or Church-polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confeſs their Diſcipline to be delivered in Scripture; and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableneſs of Laws ordained even by God himſelf, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſity ſhould take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore, but to abate this error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any ſuch a conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cauſe. As for us, we think in no reſpect ſo highly of it. Our perſuaſion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it but only ours; that they which defend it, deviſed it; that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did ſeek to maintain that which moſt advantageth our own cauſe, the very beſt way for us, and the ſtrongeſt againſt them, were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there muſt needs be found ſome particular form of Church-polity which God hath inſtituted, and which [a] for that very cauſe belongeth to all Churches, to all times. But with any ſuch partial eye to reſpect ourſelves, and by cunning to make thoſe things ſeem the trueſt which are the fitteſt to ſerve our purpoſe, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore, that which we take to be generally true concerning the mutability of Laws, the ſame we have plainly delivered, as being perſuaded of nothing more than we are of this; [b] that whether it be in matter of ſpeculation or of practice, no untruth can poſſibly avail the patron

[a] Diſciplina eſt Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ Politia, a Deo ejus recte adminiſtrandæ cauſa conſtituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, et ob eandem cauſam omnium Eccleſiarum communis et omnium temporum. Lib. iii. de Eccleſ. Diſcip. in Anal.

[b] Ἐοίκασιν ἔν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων, ὰ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συμφωνοῦντες γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. Ariſt. Ethic. lib. x. cap. 1.

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and defender long, and that things moſt truly, are likewiſe moſt behovefully ſpoken.

Whether Chriſt hath forbidden all change of thoſe Laws which are ſet down in Scripture.

11. This we hold and grant for truth, that thoſe very Laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithſtanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them, being of authority ſo to do, forbid abſolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration againſt the will of ſuch a Law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not find any cauſe, why of right there ſhould be neceſſarily an immutable form ſet down in holy Scripture; nevertheleſs, if indeed there have been at any time a Church-polity ſo ſet down, the change whereof the ſacred Scripture doth forbid, ſurely for men to alter thoſe Laws which God for perpetuity hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intolerable. To prove therefore, that the will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh Laws ſo permanent and immutable, that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon; firſt, [a] if Moſes being but a ſervant in the Houſe of God, did therein eſtabliſh Laws of Government for a perpetuity, Laws, which they that were of the houſehold might not alter; ſhall we admit into our thoughts that the Son of God hath, in providing for this his houſehold, declared himſelf leſs faithful than Moſes? Moſes delivering unto the Jews ſuch Laws as were durable, if thoſe be changeable which Chriſt hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of neceſſity muſt confeſs, even the Son of God himſelf to have been

[a] Heb. iii. 6. Either that commendation of the Son before the ſervant is a falſe teſtimony, or the Son ordained a permanent government in the Church. If permanent, then not to be changed. What then do they, that not only hold it may be changed at the magiſtrate's pleaſure, but adviſe the magiſtrate by his poſitive Laws to proclaim, that it is his will, that if there ſhall be a Church within his dominions, he will maim and deform the ſame? M. M. pag. 16. He that was as faithful as Moſes, left as clear inſtruction for the government of the Church: but Chriſt was as faithful as Moſes, Ergo. Demonſtr. of Diſcip. cap. i.

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leſs faithful than Moſes: which argument ſhall need no touch-ſtone to try it by, but ſome other of the like making. Moſes erected in the wilderneſs a Tabernacle which was moveable from place to place: Solomon a ſumptuous and ſtately Temple which was not moveable; therefore Solomon was faithfuller than Moſes, which no man endued with reaſon will think. And yet by this reaſon it doth plainly follow. He that will ſee how faithful the one or other was, muſt compare the things which they both did, unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apoſtle, in making compariſon between our Saviour and Moſes, attributeth faithfulneſs unto both, and maketh this difference between them; *Moſes in*, but *Chriſt over* the Houſe of God; *Moſes* in that Houſe which was *his by charge and commiſſion* though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a ſervant*; but *Chriſt* over this Houſe as being *his own entire poſſeſſion*. Our Lord and Saviour doth make proteſtation, [a] *I have given unto them the words which thou gaveſt me*; faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Father's will. But did any part of that will require the immutability of Laws concerning Church-polity? They anſwer, Yea; for elſe God ſhould leſs favour us than the Jews. God would not have their Churches guided by any Laws but his own: and ſeeing this did ſo continue even till Chriſt; now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage, what reaſon have we? Surely none, to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath born to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is, who conſidering how many things beaſts have which men have not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, and how much leſs able we are to ſhift for ourſelves a long time after we

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[a] John xvii. 8. Either God hath left a preſcript form of government now, or elſe he is leſs careful under the New Teſtament, than under the Old. Demonſt. of Dif. cap. i.

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enter into this world, repiningly concluded hereupon, that Nature being a careful mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted ſtep-dame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For even herein ſhineth his wiſdom, that though the ways of his Providence be many, yet the end, which he bringeth all at the length unto, is one and the ſelf-ſame. But if ſuch kind of reaſoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very ſame concerning Laws of ſecular Regiment? Their own words are theſe; *In the ancient Church of the Jews, God did command, and Moſes commit unto writing all things pertinent as well to the Civil as to the Eccleſiaſtical State.* God gave them Law of civil Regiment, and would not permit their Commonweal to be governed by any other Laws than his own. Doth God leſs regard our temporal eſtate in this world, or provide for it worſe than theirs? To us notwithſtanding he hath not, as to them, delivered any particular form of temporal Regiment, unleſs perhaps we think, as ſome do, that the grafting of the Gentiles, and their incorporating into Iſrael, doth import that we ought to be ſubject unto the Rites and Laws of their whole Polity. We ſee then how weak ſuch diſputes are, and how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not mean to ſet down particular poſitive Laws for all things in ſuch ſort as Moſes did, the very different manner of delivering the Laws of Moſes and the Laws of Chriſt doth plainly ſhew. Moſes had commandment to gather the Ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them down according unto their ſeveral kinds, for each public duty and office the Laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the books themſelves, written of purpoſe for that end: contrariwiſe the Laws of Chriſt, we find rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, than any ſolemn thing directly written to comprehend

Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib. i.

Rom. xi. 17. Epheſ. ii. 12.

prehend them in legal ſort. Again, the poſitive Laws which Moſes gave, they were given, for the greateſt part, with reſtraint to the land of Jewry: *Behold*, ſaith Moſes, *I have taught you Ordinances and Laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye ſhould do ſo even within the land whither you go to poſſeſs it.* Which Laws and Ordinances poſitive, he plainly diſtinguiſhed afterward from the Laws of the Two Tables which were moral. *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his Covenant which he commanded you to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote them upon two tables of ſtone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you Ordinances and Laws which ye ſhould obſerve in the land, whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* The ſame difference is again ſet down in the next chapter following. For rehearſal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately: *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your multitude in the mount, out of the midſt of the fire, the cloud, and the darkneſs, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them upon two tables of ſtone, and delivered them unto me.* But concerning other Laws the people give their conſent to receive them at the hands of Moſes. *Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God ſaith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God ſaith unto thee, and we will hear it and do it.* The people's alacrity herein God highly commendeth with moſt effectual and hearty ſpeech; *I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my commandments always, that it might go well with them and with their children for ever! Go, ſay unto them, Return you to your tents; but ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commandments and the Ordinances, and the Laws which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may do them in the land which I have given them to poſſeſs.*

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Deut. iv. 5.

Ver. 12, 13, 14.

Deut. v. 22.

Ver. 27.

Ver. 28, 29, 30, 31.

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From this latter kind the former are plainly diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himſelf in the hearing of ſix hundred thouſand men; the former written with the finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the latter given after, and neither written by God himſelf, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto Moſes, and from him to them both by word and writing; finally, the latter termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenants. The obſervation of the latter reſtrained unto the land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabit. The Laws poſitive are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons for which they are made. If therefore Almighty God, in framing their Laws, had an eye unto the nature of that people and to the country where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their Laws, and muſt be alſo regarded in the poſitive Laws of all other nations beſides; then ſeeing that nations are not all alike, ſurely the giving of one kind of poſitive Laws unto one only people without any liberty to alter them, is but a ſlender proof that therefore one kind ſhould in like ſort be given to ſerve everlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the clearing oft his point is, [a] that the Jews, who had Laws ſo particularly determining and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affairs what to do, were

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 35. Whereas you ſay, that they (the Jews) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the order of the Church, I will offer, for one that you ſhall bring that we have left to the order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twenty which were undecided by the expreſs Word of God.

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notwithſtanding continually inured with cauſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their Laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we aſk, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the expreſs Word of God; and that as their Ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied above ours, even ſo grew the number of thoſe caſes which were not determined by any expreſs word. So that if we may deviſe one Law, they by this reaſon might deviſe twenty; and if their deviſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example prove us forbidden to deviſe as much as one Law for the ordering of the Church? We might not deviſe, no not one, if their example did prove that our Saviour hath utterly forbidden all alteration of his Laws, inaſmuch as there can be no Law deviſed, but needs it muſt either take away from his, or add thereunto more or leſs, and ſo make ſome kind of alteration. But of this ſo large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſudden paſſion more liberal than they would be if they had leiſure to take advice: and therefore ſo bountiful words of courſe and frank ſpeeches we are contented to let paſs, without turning them to advantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be liſtened unto, when they commend the Kings of Iſrael, which attempted nothing in the government of the Church without the expreſs Word of God; and when they urge, [a] that God left nothing in his Word undeſcribed, whether it concerned the worſhip of God, or outward Polity, nothing unſet down; and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keep themſelves unto that without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that many things

T. C. in the Table to his ſecond Book.

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 446. If he will needs ſeparate the worſhip of God from the external Polity; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo he left nothing undeſcribed in the other.

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there did belong unto the courſe of their public affairs wherein they had no expreſs word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould do; the difference between their condition and ours in theſe caſes will bring ſome light unto the truth of this preſent controverſy. Before the fact of the ſon of Shelomith, there was no Law which did appoint any certain puniſhment for blaſphemers: that wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety was held in ward, till the mind of the Lord was known concerning his caſe. The like practice is alſo mentioned upon occaſion of a breach of the Sabbath-day. They find a poor ſilly creature gathering ſticks in the wilderneſs; they bring him unto Moſes and Aaron and all the congregation; they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſaid unto Moſes, *This man ſhall die the death.* The Law requireth to keep the Sabbath-day; but for the breach of the Sabbath what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare: and for ſuch things as do fall ſcarce once in many ages of men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch, as being not already determined by Law, they were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come into queſtion, it gave occaſion of adding Laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe men polluted, and of the daughters of Zelophehad, whoſe cauſes Moſes having brought before the Lord, received Laws to ſerve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the oracle of God, they had the Prophets. And by ſuch means, God himſelf inſtructed them from Heaven what to do in all things that did greatly concern their ſtate, and were not already ſet down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even againſt our own experience and knowledge? Shall we ſeek to perſuade men, that of neceſſity it is with us, as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects

Levit. xxiv. 11, 12.

Numb. xv. 34, 35.

Num. ix. 8—10. Num. xxvii.

ſpects as much as theirs, therefore neither no ſuch way of direction hath been at any time; or if it hath been, it doth ſtill continue in the Church; or if the ſame do not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplied by ſome ſuch mean as pleaſeth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us were to admire the wiſdom of God, which ſhineth in the beautiful variety of all things; but moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe ways, whereby his Church upon earth is guided from age to age throughout all generations of men. The Jews were neceſſarily to continue till the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and the gathering of nations unto him. So much the promiſe made unto Abraham did import. So much the prophecy of Jacob at the hour of his death did foreſhew. Upon the ſafety therefore of their very outward ſtate and condition for ſo long, the after good of the whole world and the ſalvation of all did depend. Unto their ſo long ſafety, for two things it was neceſſary to provide, namely, the preſervation of their ſtate againſt foreign reſiſtance, and the continuance of their peace with themſelves. Touching the one, as they received the promiſe of God to be the rock of their defence, againſt which whoſo did violently ruſh ſhould but bruiſe and batter themſelves; ſo likewiſe they had his commandment in all their affairs what way to ſeek direction and counſel from him. Men's conſultations are always perilous; and it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation thoſe things are by their wit even reſolved on, which by trial are found moſt oppoſite to public ſafety. It is no impoſſible thing for ſtates, be they never ſo well eſtabliſhed, yet by overſight in ſome one act or treaty between them and their potent oppoſites utterly to caſt away themſelves for ever. Wherefore leſt it ſhould ſo fall out to them, upon whom ſo much did depend, they were not permitted to enter into war, nor conclude any league

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Gen. xviii. 18. Gen. xlix. 10.

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of peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign states, unless the oracle of God or his Prophets were first consulted with. And lest domestical disturbance should waste them within themselves, because there was nothing unto this purpose more effectual than if the authority of their Laws and Governors were such as none might presume to take exception against it, or to shew disobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and detestation of all men that had any spark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their positive Laws from Heaven, and, as oft as occasion required, chose in like sort rulers also to lead and govern them. Notwithstanding some desperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them if they did attempt to be authors of confusion, and to resist both Governors and Laws. Against such monsters God maintained his own by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them. By which means it came to pass, that although they were a people infested and mightily hated of all others throughout the world, although by nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of rest and quietness; yet was there nothing of force, either one way or other to work the ruin and subversion of their state till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we see that there was not no cause of dissimilitude in these things between that one only people before Christ, and the kingdoms of the world since. And whereas it is farther alleged, *That albeit in civil matters and things pertaining to this present life, God hath used a greater particularity with them than amongst us, framing Laws according to the quality of that people and country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil, is so far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the kingdom of Heaven, that it rather proves a straiter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by temporal blessings of this life towards the people*

T. C. lib. ii. p. 440.

people under the Law than towards us, he gave alſo politic Laws moſt exactly, whereby they might both moſt eaſily come into, and moſt ſtedfaſtly remain in poſſeſſion of thoſe earthly benefits: even ſo at this time, wherein he would not have his favour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing Laws for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat fallen, in leaving them to men's conſultations, which may be deceived; ſo his care for conduct and government of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leaving leſs to the order of men than in times paſt. Theſe are but weak and feeble diſputes for the inference of that concluſion which is intended. For, ſaving only in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould think God more deſirous to manifeſt his favour by temporal bleſſings towards them than towards us. Godlineſs had unto them, and it hath alſo unto us, the promiſes both of this life and the life to come. That the care of God hath fallen in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in heavenly; that more is left unto men's conſultations in the one, and therefore leſs muſt be granted in the other; that God having uſed a greater particularity with them than with us for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of Laws for government of the life to come; theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we muſt plainly confeſs that, which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only begotten Son; thoſe myſteries of Grace and Salvation which were but darkly diſcloſed unto them, have unto us more clearly ſhined. Such differences between them and us, the Apoſtles of Chriſt have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging unto the outward conduct or government of the Church; ſeeing that even in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by poſitive Laws deſcended ſo far into particularities with us, as Moſes

with

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with them; neither doth by extraordinary means, Oracles and Prophets, direct us, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions are of neceſſity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there ſhould be freedom and liberty granted to make Laws? Yea, but the Apoſtle St. Paul doth fearfully charge Timothy, *Even in the ſight of God who quickeneth all, and of Chriſt Jeſus who witneſſed that famous confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to keep what was commanded him ſafe and ſound, till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all liberty of changing the Laws of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoever. For in Timothy the whole Church of Chriſt receiveth charge concerning her duty; and that charge is to keep the Apoſtle's commandment; and his commandment did contain the Law that concerned Church-government; and thoſe Laws he ſtraitly requireth to be obſerved without breach or blame till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In Scripture we grant every one man's leſſon to be the common inſtruction of all men, ſo far forth as their caſes are alike, and that religiouſly to keep the Apoſtle's commandments in whatſoever they may concern us, we all ſtand bound. But touching that commandment which Timothy was charged with, we ſwerve undoubtedly from the Apoſtle's preciſe meaning, if we extend it ſo largely that the arms thereof ſhall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelves do reſtrain themſelves unto ſome ſpecial commandment among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keep the Ordinances, Laws, and Conſtitutions which thou haſt received; but* τὴν ἐντολὴν *that great commandment which doth principally concern thee and thy calling:* that commandment which Chriſt did ſo often inculcate unto Peter; that commandment unto the careful diſcharge whereof they of Epheſus are exhorted; *Attend to yourſelves, and to all the flock wherein the Holy*

1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. John xviii. 36, 37.

John xxi. 15.

Acts xx. 28.

Holy Ghoſt hath placed you Biſhops, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed by his own blood: finally, that commandment which, unto the ſame Timothy, is by the ſame Apoſtle, even in the ſame form and manner, afterwards again urged; *I charge thee in the ſight of God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance, and in his kingdom, preach the Word of God.* When Timothy was inſtituted in that office, then was the credit and truſt of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The doctrine of the Goſpel was then given him, *as the precious talent or treaſure of Jeſus Chriſt:* then received he for performance of this duty *the ſpecial gift of the Holy Ghoſt.* To keep this commandment immaculate and blameleſs, *was to teach the Goſpel of Chriſt without mixture of corrupt and unſound doctrine*; ſuch as a number even in thoſe times intermingled with the myſteries of Chriſtian belief. *Till the appearance of Chriſt to keep it ſo,* doth not import the time wherein it ſhould be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reſerved; according to that of St. Paul concerning himſelf, *I have kept the Faith; for the reſidue there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, the righteous judge, ſhall in that day render unto me.* If they that labour in this harveſt ſhould reſpect but the preſent fruit of their painful travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in Heaven; the crown of righteouſneſs which ſhall be given them in that day is honourable. The fruit of their induſtry then ſhall they reap with full contentment and ſatisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatneſs of their reward is abundantly ſufficient to countervail the tediouſneſs of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour muſt reſt in hope. O Timothy, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou haſt received keep till the appearance of

2 Tim. iv. 1.

1 Tim. vi. 20. παραθήκην.

1 Tim. iv. 14.

2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

our

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our Lord Jesus Christ. In which sense, although we judge the Apostle's words to have been uttered; yet hereunto do we not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable which hold, that the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostle's commandment imposed necessarily for ever upon the militant Church of Christ; let them withal consider, that then his commandment cannot so largely be taken to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command Timothy. For themselves do not all bind the Church unto somethings, whereof Timothy received charge, as namely, unto that precept concerning the choice of widows: so as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church were commanded for perpetuity; and we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be, though positive, yet perpetual in the Church. They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: whereas now they themselves, both granting and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient or unmeet Laws: sundry of ours they hold inconvenient; therefore such Laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christ's; being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very Laws so added, they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess, both in matter of prescript attire and of rites appertaining to burial. [a] Their own protestations are,

[a] T. C. lib. iii. p. 241. "My reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of those ceremonies of burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them." And in the Table. "Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulness of Popish apparel and ceremonies in burial."

that

that they plead againſt the inconvenience, not the unlawfulneſs, of Ceremonies in burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the Laws of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo conſequently they yield that no Law of Chriſt forbiddeth addition unto Church Laws. [a] The judgment of Calvin being alleged againſt them, to whom of all men they attribute moſt; whereas his words be plain, that for Ceremonies and external Diſcipline the Church hath power to make Laws: the anſwer which hereunto they make is, that indefinitely the ſpeech is true, and ſo it was meant by him; namely, that ſome things belonging unto external Diſcipline and Ceremonies are in the power and arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, that all external Diſcipline and all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, inaſmuch as the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Again, Excommunication is a part of external Diſcipline, which might alſo be caſt away if all external Diſcipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwer it doth appear, that touching the names of Ceremony and external Diſcipline, they gladly

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 32. "Upon the indefinite ſpeaking of Mr. Calvin, ſaying, Ceremonies and external Diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you go about ſubtilly to make men believe, that Mr. Calvin hath placed the whole external Diſcipline in the power and arbitrement of the Church. For if all external Diſcipline were arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo (which is a part of it) might be caſt away; which I think you will not ſay." And in the very next words before. "Where you will give to underſtand, that Ceremonies and external Diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the Word of God, and therefore left to the order of the Church: you muſt underſtand, that all external Diſcipline is not left to the order of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more than all Ceremonies are left to the order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord."

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would have us ſo underſtood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them is, that they over-much abridge the Church of her power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in theſe things we gave the Church a liberty which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of Diſcipline containeth were at the Church's free choice: ſo that we might either have Church governors and government, or want them; either retain, or reject Church-cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at us as at men which think it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in matter of Ceremonies, that it may be feared leſt we judge the very Sacraments themſelves to be held at the Church's pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we do not uſe in ſo large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compaſs and reach thereof; although things belonging unto the outward form and ſeemly adminiſtration of them are contained in that name, even as we uſe it. For the name of Ceremonies we uſe as they themſelves do when they ſpeak after this ſort: *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides, in the matter of external Diſcipline or Regiment itſelf, we do not deny but there are ſome things whereto the Church is bound till the world's end. So as the queſtion is only, how far the bounds of the Church's liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make Laws and Orders for itſelf doth extend unto ſundry things of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and ſuch other matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Church's authority and power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt us about this point they take their compaſs a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford, producing reaſons and arguments by way of generality, to prove that Chriſt hath

T. C. lib. iii. p. 171.

hath ſet down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by addition or diminution, great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is): we are conſtrained to make our defence by ſhewing, that Chriſt hath not deprived his Church ſo far of all liberty in making Orders and Laws for itſelf, and that they themſelves do not think he hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular cuſtoms, rites, and orders of reformed Churches, have been appointed by Chriſt himſelf? no: [a] they grant, that "in matter of circumſtance they alter that which they have received; but in things of ſubſtance they keep the Laws of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our own behalf, (which ſurely we may do with a great deal more truth,) then muſt they cancel all that hath been before alleged, and begin to enquire afreſh, whether we retain the Laws that Chriſt hath delivered concerning matters of ſubſtance, yea, or no. For our conſtant perſuaſion in this point is as theirs, that we have no where altered the Laws of Chriſt farther than in ſuch particularities only as have the nature of things changeable, according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded prayers to be made, ſacraments to be miniſtered, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of theſe ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded, which muſt be kept till the world's end. On the contrary ſide, in every of them ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall judge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeak to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath been diſputed of, they muſt give over, and ſtand

[a] T. C. lib. i. p. 27. We deny not but certain things are left to the order of the Church, becauſe they are of the nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons, and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at once be ſet down and eſtabliſhed for ever.

BOOK III. upon ſuch particulars only as they can ſhew we have either added or abrogated otherwiſe than we ought in the matter of Church-polity. Whatſoever Chriſt hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the ſame we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatſoever our Laws have thereunto added beſides, of ſuch quality we hope it is as no Law of Chriſt doth any where condemn. Wherefore, that all may be laid together and gathered into a narrow room. Firſt, ſo far forth as the Church is the myſtical body of Chriſt and his inviſible ſpouſe, it needeth no external Polity. That very part of the Law divine which teacheth faith and works of righteouſneſs, is itſelf alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a viſible ſociety and body po-

II. litic, Laws of Polity it cannot want. Secondly, whereas therefore it cometh in the ſecond place to be enquired, what Laws are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriveth the Church of liberty to make any kind of Law for herſelf, inclined (as it ſhould ſeem) thereunto, for that they imagined

Iſa. xxix. 13, 14. Col. ii. 22. all things which the Church doth without commandment of holy Scripture, ſubject to that reproof which the Scripture itſelf uſeth in certain caſes, when divine authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of order whatſoever, to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the brain of man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* St. Auguſtine was of another mind, who, ſpeaking of faſts on the Sunday, ſaith; *That he which would chooſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould give thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary cuſtom. For in theſe things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the uſe of the people of God, or the ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerve for a Law. In which caſe, if we will diſpute, and condemn one ſort by another's cuſtom, it will be but matter of endleſs contention; where,*

Auguſt. Epiſt. 36. tom. ii. Ed. Par. p. 68. E.

for

for as much as the labour of reaſoning ſhall hardly beat into men's heads any certain or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth us upon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of ſtrife the brightneſs of charity and love be darkened. If all things muſt be commanded of God which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandment the Gileadites had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the Book of Joſhua. Did not congruity of Reaſon induce them thereunto, and ſufſice for defence of their fact? I would know what commandment the women of Iſrael had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of Jephthah's daughter; what commandment the Jews had to celebrate their feaſt of Dedication, never ſpoken of in the Law, yet ſolemnized even by our Saviour himſelf; what commandment, finally, they had for the ceremony of odours uſed about the bodies of the dead, after which cuſtom notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtom) our Lord was contented that his own moſt precious body ſhould be entombed. Wherefore to reject all orders of the Church which men have eſtabliſhed, is to think worſe of the Laws of men in this reſpect, than either the judgment of wiſe men alloweth, or the Law of God itſelf will bear. Howbeit, they which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold, that needs there muſt be in Scripture ſet down a complete particular form of Church-polity, a form preſcribing how all the affairs of the Church muſt be ordered, a form in no reſpect lawful to be altered by mortal men. For reformation of which overſight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian love and charity to inſtruct them better, and to open unto them the difference between matters of perpetual neceſſity to all men's ſalvation, and matters of Eccleſiaſtical Polity: the one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture; the other not

Joſh. xxii. 30.

Judg. xi. 40.

Joh. x. 22.

Joh. xix. 40.

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neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed: the one not capable of any diminution or augmentation at all by men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the authors of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loth that the form of Church-polity which they ſought to bring in ſhould be otherwiſe than in the

I. higheſt degree accounted of, took firſt an exception againſt the difference between Church-polity and

II. matters of neceſſity to Salvation. Secondly, againſt the reſtraint of Scripture, which (they ſay) receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not, as well matters of Polity, as of Faith and Salva-

III. tion. Thirdly, conſtrained thereby we have been, therefore, both to maintain that diſtinction as a thing not only true in itſelf, but by them likewiſe ſo ac-

IV. knowledged, though unawares. Fourthly, and to make manifeſt, that from Scripture we offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that truth thereunto doth claim, in as much as by us it is willingly confeſſed, that the Scripture of God is a ſtorehouſe abounding with ineſtimable treaſures of wiſdom and knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one kind barely neceſſary; yea, even that matters of Eccleſiaſtical Polity are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before mentioned. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing ever can need be added, nothing ever ceaſe to be neceſſary: theſe, on the contrary ſide, as being of a far other nature and quality, not ſo ſtrictly nor everlaſtingly commanded in Scripture, but that unto the complete form of Church-polity, much may be requiſite which the Scripture teacheth not; and much which it hath taught become unrequiſite, ſometimes becauſe we need not uſe it, ſometimes alſo becauſe we cannot. In which reſpect, for mine own part, although I ſee that certain reformed Churches, the Scottiſh eſpecially and French, have not that which beſt agreeth with the ſacred Scripture,

I mean

I mean the government that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe Churches are fallen under a different kind of Regiment; which to remedy it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoon for the other during their preſent affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch a caſe than exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of Polity or Regiment which is beſt; and to content themſelves with that which either the irremediable error of former times, or the neceſſity of the preſent, hath caſt upon them. BOOK III.

Fifthly, now, becauſe that poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own Regiment, be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the later defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over extreme, are notwithſtanding loth to acknowledge any overſight therein, and therefore labour what they may to ſalve it up by conſtruction; we have for the more perſpicuity delivered what was thereby meant at the firſt. V.

Sixthly, how injurious a thing it were unto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning. VI.

Seventhly, and how unperfect their interpretations are, who ſo much labour to help it; either by dividing commandments of Scripture into two kinds, and ſo defending, that all things muſt be commanded if not in ſpecial, yet in general precepts. VII.

Eighthly, or by taking it as meant, that in caſe the Church do deviſe any new order, ſhe ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any ſtar-light of man's Reaſon. VIII.

Ninthly, both which evaſions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to herſelf Laws of Polity, and in what reckoning ſuch poſitive Laws both are with God, and ſhould be with men. IX.

Tenthly, furthermore, becauſe to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made X.

BOOK III.

a thing very odious, that when God himſelf hath deviſed ſome certain Laws, and committed them to ſacred Scripture, man by abrogation, addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, whether the authority of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his Laws unto Scripture, be ſufficient arguments to prove that God doth in no caſe allow

XL. they ſhould ſuffer any ſuch kind of change. Eleventhly, the laſt refuge for proof, that divine Laws of Chriſtian Church-polity may not be altered, by extinguiſhment of any old, or addition of new in that kind, is partly a marvellous ſtrange diſcourſe, that Chriſt (unleſs he ſhould ſhew himſelf not ſo faithful as Moſes, or not [a] ſo wiſe as Lycurgus and Solon) muſt needs have ſet down in holy Scripture ſome certain, complete, and unchangeable form of Polity; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome evidence, where change of that ſort of Laws may ſeem expreſsly forbidden, although in truth nothing leſs be done. I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a City, yea, the City of the Great King; and the life of a City is Polity. The Church is the Houſe of the living God; and what houſe can there be without ſome order for the government of it? In the royal houſe of a Prince, there muſt be officers for government, ſuch as not any ſervant in the houſe, but the Prince, whoſe the houſe is, ſhall judge convenient: ſo the Houſe of God muſt have orders for the government of it, ſuch as not any of the houſehold, but God himſelf hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the love and wiſdom of God to leave ſuch

[a] Niſi Reipublicæ ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, Magiſtratus ordinârit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemque deſcripſerit, quæ judiciorum ſorique ratio habenda? quomodo civium finiendæ lites? non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ providit, quam Moſes olim Judaicæ, ſed quam a Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, Civitatibus ſuis proſpectum ſit. Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſcip.

order

order untaken as is neceſſary for the due government of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of Solomon's ſervants, did ſhew his wiſdom; therefore he which is greater than Solomon hath not failed to leave in his Houſe ſuch orders for government thereof as may ſerve to be as a looking-glaſs for his providence, care, and wiſdom to be ſeen in. That little ſpark of the light of Nature which remaineth in us, may ſerve us for the affairs of this life; but as in all other matters concerning the kingdom of Heaven, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very government of that kingdom, needful it is we ſhould be taught of God. *As long as men are perſuaded of any order that it is only of men, they preſume of their own underſtanding, and they think to deviſe another not only as good, but better than that which they have received. By ſeverity of puniſhment this preſumption and curioſity may be reſtrained. But that cannot work ſuch cheerful obedience as is yielded, where the conſcience hath reſpect to God as the author of Laws and Orders. This was it which countenanced the Laws of Moſes, made concerning outward Polity for the adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome Law-givers of the Heathens did pretend, but falſely; yet wiſely diſcerning the uſe of this perſuaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be author of the Polity of his Church.* But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſuaded than of this, that the Scripture hath ſet down a complete form of Church-polity, univerſal, perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding, they which have thus formally maintained argument in defence of the firſt overſight, are by the very evidence of truth themſelves conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, that the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater weight,

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ſome of leſs; that what hath been urged as touching immutability of Laws, it extendeth in truth no farther than only to Laws wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now theſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors*, *Paſtors*, *Lay-elders*, *Elderſhips compounded of theſe three*: *Synods*, *conſiſting of many Elderſhips*; *Deacons*, *Women-church-ſervants*, *or Widows*; *free conſent of the people unto actions of greateſt moment*, *after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolved*. All this form of Polity, (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither,) but howſoever, all this form they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to add to it any thing as of like importance, (for ſo I think they mean,) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which reſolution if they will firmly and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been diſputed of, they muſt agree, that they have moleſted the Church with needleſs oppoſition; and henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelves wholly unto the trial of particulars, whether every of thoſe things which they eſteem as principal be either ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-polity be received other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things, or in ſmaller. The matters wherein Church-polity is converſant are the public religious duties of the Church, as the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, ſpiritual Cenſures, and the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth always bound. Laws of Polity, are Laws which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof, becauſe all that are of the Church cannot jointly and equally work, the firſt thing in Polity required is, a difference of perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed.

The defence of godly miniſters againſt Dr. Bridges, p. 133.

cuted. Hereupon we hold, that God's Clergy are a ſtate, which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon earth, neceſſarily by the plain Word of God himſelf; a ſtate whereunto the reſt of God's people muſt be ſubject, as touching things that appertain to their ſoul's health. For where Polity is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blind lead the blind, they both periſh.* It is with the Clergy, if their perſons be reſpected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of Polity, they being *the lights of the world*, others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubject unto them. Again, foraſmuch as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; we hold there have ever been, and ever ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſtwiſe, two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, the one ſubordinate unto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops always ſince, we find plainly both in Scripture, and in all Eccleſiaſtical records, other miniſters of the Word and Sacraments have been. Moreover, it cannot enter into any man's conceit to think it lawful, that every man which liſteth ſhould take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemn admittance is of ſuch neceſſity, that without it there can be no Church-polity. A number of particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of theſe principal and perpetual parts in Eccleſiaſtical Polity, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant uſe and neceſſity in God's Church. Of this kind are, time and places appointed for the exerciſe of religion; ſpecialties belonging to the public ſolemnity of the Word, the Sacraments, and Prayer; the enlargement or abridgement of functions miniſterial, depending upon thoſe two principal before mentioned: to conclude,

Luke vi. 39.

Matt. v. 14.

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conclude, even whatſoever doth by way of formality and circumſtance concern any public action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for ever permanent; yet in the latter, both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God ſhall always need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the form of Polity by them ſet down for perpetuity is three ways faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely, the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude: faulty in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widows, and ſuch like, as things of perpetual neceſſity by the Law of God, which in truth are nothing leſs: faulty alſo in urging ſome things by Scripture immutable; as their Lay-elders, which the Scripture neither maketh immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find, or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the books that follow. As for thoſe marvellous diſcourſes whereby they adventure to argue, that God muſt needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done; I muſt confeſs, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldneſs herein. When the queſtion is, whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a complete particular immutable form of Church-polity; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour to prove he ſhould have done it; there being no way in this caſe to prove the deed of God, ſaving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent upon record, they do as if one ſhould demand a legacy by force and virtue of ſome written teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, he pleadeth, that there it muſt needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good-will which always the teſtator bore him, imagining, that theſe or the like

like proofs will convict a teſtament to have that in it which other men can no where by reading find. In matters which concern the actions of God, the moſt dutiful way on our part is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekneſs to admire that, rather than to diſpute what he in congruity of Reaſon ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number than we can ſearch; other in Nature than that we ſhould preſume to determine, which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one, we then may boldly conclude to be the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds; who, and where we are, we forget. And therefore needful it is, that our pride in ſuch caſes be controlled, and our diſputes beaten back with thoſe demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counſellor?* Rom. xi. 33, 34.

BOOK III.

End of the Third Book.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY.

BOOK IV.

Concerning their third Aſſertion, That our Form of Church-polity is corrupted with Popiſh Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, baniſhed out of certain Reformed Churches, whoſe example therein we ought to have followed.

The Matter contained in this Fourth Book.

1. *How great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.*
2. *The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies, that we have not in them ancient Apoſtolical ſimplicity, but a greater pomp and ſtatelineſs.*
3. *The ſecond, that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of Rome uſeth; and the Reaſons which they bring to prove them for that cauſe blame-worthy.*
4. *How when they go about to expound what Popiſh Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own arguments againſt Popiſh Ceremonies.*

5. *An*

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5. *An anſwer to the argument, whereby they would prove, that ſith we allow the cuſtoms of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow ſuch cuſtoms as the Church of Rome hath, becauſe we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*

6. *To their Allegation, that the courſe of God's own wiſdom doth make againſt our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.*

7. *To the example of the eldeſt Church, which they bring for the ſame purpoſe.*

8. *That it is not our beſt Polity (as they pretend it is) for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to have in theſe things no agreement with the Church of Rome being unſound.*

9. *That neither the Papiſts upbraiding us as furniſhed out of their ſtore, nor any hope which in that reſpect they are ſaid to conceive, doth make any more againſt our Ceremonies than the former Allegations have done.*

10. *The grief, which, they ſay, godly Brethren conceive, at ſuch Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.*

11. *The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies, is, for that as we have them from the Church of Rome, ſo that Church had them from the Jews.*

12. *The fourth, for that ſundry of them have been (they ſay) abuſed unto idolatry, and are by that mean become ſcandalous.*

13. *The fifth, for that we retain them ſtill, notwithſtanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have caſt them out.*

14. *A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for the eſtabliſhment of things as they are.*

How great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.

SUCH was the ancient ſimplicity and ſoftneſs of ſpirit, which ſometimes prevailed in the world, that they whoſe words were even as oracles amongſt men, ſeemed evermore loth to give ſentence againſt any

any thing publickly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderfully apparently evil; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſeverity which delighteth to reprove the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſs, as to that charity which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The ſtate of this preſent age wherein zeal hath drowned charity, and ſkill meekneſs, will not now ſuffer any man to marvel, whatſoever he ſhall hear reproved, by whomſoever. Thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelf-ſame now, that they were when holy and virtuous men maintained them againſt profane and deriding adverſaries, her own children have at this day in deriſion: whether juſtly or no it ſhall then appear, when all things are heard which they have to allege againſt the outward received orders of this Church. [a] Which inaſmuch as themſelves do compare unto *mint* and *cummin*, granting them to be no part of thoſe things which in the matter of Polity are weightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither be earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that which is objected againſt the orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to diſcuſs only thoſe general exceptions, which have been taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore, to the end that their nature, and uſe whereto they ſerve may plainly appear, and ſo afterwards their quality the better be diſcerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main public duty which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and form wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certain outward faſhion whereby the ſame is in decent

[a] Matt. xxiii. 23. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as mint and cummin, ought not to be neglected. T. C. l. iii. p. 171.

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ſort adminiſtered. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is delivered from God himſelf in few words. For example ſake in the Sacraments. *Unto the element let the Word be added, and they both do make a Sacrament*, ſaith St. Auguſtine. Baptiſm is given by the element of water, and that preſcript form of words which the Church of Chriſt doth uſe: the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is adminiſtered in the elements of Bread and Wine, if thoſe myſtical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of adminiſtering thoſe holy Sacraments doth require a great deal more. The end which is aimed at in ſetting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their underſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof, in ſuch actions, it behoveth all men to conſider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection ſuitable thereunto; when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore unto this purpoſe not only ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible means beſides have always been thought neceſſary, and eſpecially thoſe means which being object to the eye, the livelieſt and the moſt apprehenſive ſenſe of all other, have in that reſpect [illegible] fitteſt to make a deep and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence have riſen not only a number of [illegible] readings, queſtionings, exhortings, but even of viſible ſigns alſo, which being uſed in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly moſt effectual to open ſuch matter as men when they know and remember carefully muſt needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerve. We muſt not think but that there is ſome ground of Reaſon even in Nature, whereby it cometh to paſs that no nation under Heaven either doth or ever did ſuffer ſome public actions which are of weight, whether

ther they be civil and temporal, or elſe ſpiritual and ſacred, to paſs without ſome viſible ſolemnity: the very ſtrangeneſs whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe popular eyes to obſerve and to mark the ſame. Words, both becauſe they are common and do not ſo ſtrongly move the fancy of man, are for the moſt part but ſlightly heard; and therefore with ſingular wiſdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of men which are made in the preſence of witneſſes ſhould paſs not only with words, but alſo with certain ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is far more eaſy and durable than the memory of ſpeech can be. The things which ſo long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us preſume to condemn as follies and toys, becauſe we ſometimes know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorn whatſoever it doth not conceive, might aſk wherefore Abraham ſhould ſay to his ſervant, *Put thy hand under my thigh and ſwear*; was it not ſufficient for his ſervant to ſhew the religion of an oath, by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unleſs that ſtrange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains, and conveyances, a man's word is a token ſufficient to expreſs his will: yet *this was the ancient manner in Iſrael concerning redeeming and exchanging, to eſtabliſh all things; a man did pluck off his ſhoe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a ſure witneſs in Iſrael.* Amongſt the Romans in their making a bond-man free, was it not wondered wherefore ſo great ado ſhould be made? The maſter to preſent his ſlave in ſome court, to take him by the hand, and not only to ſay in the hearing of the public magiſtrate, *I will that this man become free*; but after theſe ſolemn words uttered to ſtrike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be ſhaved off, the magiſtrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him; to what purpoſe all this circumſtance? Amongſt the He-

Gen. xxiv. 2.

Ruth iv. 7.

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brews how ſtrange, and in outward appearance almoſt againſt Reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelf a perpetual ſervant, ſhould not only teſtify ſo much in the preſence of the judge, but for a viſible token thereof have alſo his ear bored through with an awl? It were an infinite labour to proſecute theſe things ſo far as they might be exemplified both in civil and religious actions. For in both they have their neceſſary uſe and force. [a] *Theſe ſenſible things which Religion hath allowed, are reſemblances framed according to things ſpiritually underſtood, whereunto they ſerve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to religious duties ſuch rites and ceremonies as are ſignificant, is to inſtitute new ſacraments; ſure I am they will not ſay that Numa Pompilius did ordain a ſacrament; a ſignificant ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the prieſts [b] *to execute the work of their divine ſervice with their hands as far as to the fingers covered; thereby ſignifying that fidelity muſt be defended, and that men's right hands are the ſacred ſeat thereof.* Again, we are alſo to put them in mind, that themſelves do not hold all ſignificant ceremonies for ſacraments, inſomuch as Impoſition of Hands they deny to be a ſacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible ſignification. For concerning it their words are theſe, *The party ordained by this ceremony, was put in mind of his ſeparation to the work of the Lord, that remembering himſelf to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongſt others, this might teach him not to account himſelf now his own, nor to do what himſelf liſteth; but to conſider that God hath ſet him about a work, which if he*

Exod. xxi. 6.

Eccleſ. dif. fol. 51.

[a] Dionyſ. p. 121. Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶς ἱερατῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός.

[b] Liv. lib. i. cap. 21. Manuque ad digitos uſque involutâ rem divinam facere, ſignificantes, fidem tutandam, ſedemque ejus etiam in dextris ſacratam eſſe.

will

will discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himself of reward, and if otherwise, of revenge. Touching significant ceremonies, some of them are sacraments, some as sacraments only. Sacraments are those, which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace, which always really descendeth from God unto the soul that duly receiveth them; other significant tokens are only as sacraments, yet no sacraments: which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apostles' Imposition of Hands, these are their own words, *magnum signum hoc et quasi sacramentum usurpárunt*; they used this sign, or as it were a sacrament. Fol. 25.

Concerning Rites and Ceremonies there may be fault, either in the kind, or in the number and multitude of them. The first thing blamed about the kind of ours is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles, we have embraced more outward stateliness, we have those orders in the exercise of Religion, which they who best pleased God and served him most devoutly never had. For it is out of doubt that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian Religion Faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godliness did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that Customs, Laws, and Ordinances devised since are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which rule or canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at leastwise unsufficient, if not both. For in case be it certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us where we shall find it so exactly set down, that we may say without all controversy, these were the orders of the Apostles' times, these wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than these. True it is, that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea, many things

The first thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies is, that we have not in them ancient Apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and stateliness. Lib. Eccles. disc. et T. c. 1. iii. p. 181.

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declared, and many things neceſſarily collected out of the Apoſtles' writings: but is it neceſſary that all the orders of the Church which were then in uſe ſhould be contained in their books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their writings be well obſerved, it ſhall unto any man eaſily appear, that no more of them are there touched than were needful to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion, and ſometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolical, which is not found in the Apoſtles' writings, in what other records ſoever it be found. And therefore whereas St. Auguſtine affirmeth, [a] that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be Apoſtolical, although they be not found written; this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here ſtand in defence of St. Auguſtine's opinion, which is, that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolical, but yet with this exception, unleſs the decree of ſome general Council have haply cauſed them to be received: for of poſitive Laws and orders received throughout the whole Chriſtian world, St. Auguſtine could imagine no other fountain ſave theſe two. But to let paſs St. Auguſtine, they who condemn him herein muſt needs confeſs it a very uncertain thing what the orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles' times, ſeeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other records thereof beſides they utterly reject. So that in tying

[a] Tom. vii. de bapt. contra Donatiſt. lib. v. cap. 23. Ed. Par. tom. non. p. 156. F. T. C. l. i. p. 31. If this judgment of St. Auguſtine be a good judgment and ſound; then there be ſome things commanded of God which are not in the Scripture; and therefore there is no ſufficient doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be ſaved. For all the commandments of God and of the Apoſtles are needful for our ſalvation. Vide Ep. 118.

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the Church to the orders of the Apoſtles' times, they tie it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unleſs they require the obſervation of no orders but only thoſe which are known to be Apoſtolical by the Apoſtles' own writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould uſe it as a touch-ſtone to try the orders of the Church by for ever. Our end ought always to be the ſame; our ways and means thereunto not ſo. The glory of God and the good of the Church was the thing which the Apoſtles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we alſo level. But ſeeing thoſe rites and orders may be at one time more which at another are leſs available unto that purpoſe; what reaſon is there in theſe things to urge the ſtate of one only age as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right ſure, their meaning that we ſhould now aſſemble our people to ſerve God in cloſe and ſecret meetings; or that common brooks or rivers ſhould be uſed for places of Baptiſm; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtered after meat; or that the cuſtom of Church-feaſting ſhould be renewed; or that all kind of ſtanding proviſion for the miniſtry ſhould be utterly taken away, and their eſtate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In theſe things they eaſily perceive how unfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt age convenient enough. The faith, zeal, and godlineſs of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt be ſtill the ſelf-ſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was, may lawfully ſince have ceaſed? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds and limits unto their ſpeeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was firſt delivered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that

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which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the people of God when they were in the houſe of bondage, and their manner of ſerving God in a ſtrange land, be compared with that which Canaan and Jeruſalem did afford; and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt, it may be, they were right glad to take ſome corner of a poor cottage, and there to ſerve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in duſt and ſtraw ſometimes. Neither were they therefore the leſs accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length, by working of their admirable deliverance, did teſtify that they ſerved him not in vain. Notwithſtanding, in the very deſart they are no ſooner poſſeſſed of ſome little thing of their own, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of Canaan, and having David to be their king, when the Lord had given him reſt from all his enemies, it grieved his religious mind to conſider the growth of his own eſtate and dignity, the affairs of Religion continuing ſtill in the former manner; *Behold now I dwell in an houſe of cedar-trees, and the Ark of God remaineth within curtains.* What he did purpoſe, it was the pleaſure of God that Solomon his ſon ſhould perform, and perform it in a manner ſuitable unto their preſent, not their ancient eſtate and condition. For which cauſe Solomon writeth unto the King of Tyrus; *The Houſe which I build is great and wonderful; for great is our God above all gods.* Whereby it clearly appeareth, that the orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed ſuitable to the greatneſs and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend ſimplicity of ancienter times. Such diſſimilitude therefore between us and the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the order of ſome outward things, is no argument of default.

2 Sam. vii. 2.

2 Chron. ii. 5.

Our Orders and Ceremonies

3. Yea, but we have framed curſelves to the cuſtoms of the Church of Rome; our Orders and Ceremonies

Ceremonies are Papiſtical. It is eſpied that our Church-founders were not ſo careful as in this matter they ſhould have been, but contented themſelves with ſuch Diſcipline as they took from the Church of Rome. Their error we ought to reform by aboliſhing all Popiſh Orders. There muſt be no communion nor fellowſhip with Papiſts, neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Government. It is not enough that we are divided from the Church of Rome by the ſingle wall of Doctrine, retaining as we do part of their Ceremonies and almoſt their whole Government; but Government or Ceremonies, or whatſoever it be which is Popiſh, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquiſhment of all things Popiſh. Wherein, to the end we may anſwer them according to their plain direct meaning, and not to take advantage of doubtful ſpeech, whereby controverſies grow always endleſs; their main poſition being this, that nothing ſhould be placed in the Church, but what God in his Word hath commanded, they muſt of neceſſity hold all for Popiſh which the Church of Rome hath over and beſides this. By Popiſh Orders, Ceremonies, and Government, they muſt therefore mean in every of theſe ſo much as the Church of Rome hath embraced without commandment of God's Word: ſo that whatſoever ſuch thing we have, if the Church of Rome hath it alſo, it goeth under the name of thoſe things that are Popiſh, yea, although it be lawful, although agreeable to the Word of God. For ſo they plainly affirm, ſaying, *Although the Forms and Ceremonies which they* (the Church of Rome) *uſed were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet notwithſtanding neither the Word of God, nor Reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, do permit us to uſe the ſame Forms and Ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither ſuch as there may not as good as they, and*

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blamed, in that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of Rome uſeth.

Eccleſ Diſc. fol. 12. T.C. lib. i. p. 131.

T. C. l. i. p. 20.

T. C. l. i. p. 25.

T. C. lib. i. p. 131.

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and rather better be eſtabliſhed. The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of Rome in thoſe Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or elſe ought to deviſe others, and to have no conformity with them, no not ſo much as in theſe things? In this ſenſe and conſtruction therefore, as they affirm, ſo we deny, that whatſoever is Popiſh we ought to abrogate. Their arguments to prove that generally all Popiſh Orders and Ceremonies ought to be clean aboliſhed, are in ſum theſe: firſt, *whereas we allow the judgment of St. Auguſtine, that touching thoſe things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerve the cuſtom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers; how can we retain the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the people of God nor our forefathers?* Secondly, *although the Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet neither the Word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor Reaſon do permit us to uſe the ſame,* they being Heretics and ſo near about us, *and their Orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet ſuch, but that as good or rather better may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the Word of God to have conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things, as appeareth in that the wiſdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his people from infection of idolatry and ſuperſtition by ſevering them from Idolaters in outward Ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themſelves very lawful to be done. And farther, whereas the Lord was careful to ſever them by Ceremonies from other nations, yet was he not ſo careful to ſever them from any as from the Egyptians amongſt whom they lived, and from thoſe nations which were next neighbours to them, becauſe from them was the greateſt fear of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdom of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for us to conform*

T. C. l. i. p. 30.

T. C. l. i. p. 131.

conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one Council it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not deck their houſes with bay-leaves and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo to do; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labours thoſe days that the Pagans did; that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every month as they did. Another Council decreed that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate feaſts on the birth-days of the martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O, ſaith Tertullian, better is the religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lord's day[a]*, neither the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeem Chriſtians; but we are not afraid to be called Heathens. The ſame Tertullian would not have Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular men and of councils, in making or aboliſhing of Ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelves are moſt indifferent to be uſed or not uſed. The ſame conformity is not leſs oppoſite unto Reaſon, firſt, inaſmuch as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therefore Popery being Antichriſtianity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhment of Orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as far from exceſs of drink as may be. To rectify a crooked ſtick, we bend it on the contrary ſide, as far as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence we draw it; and ſo it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect ſtraightneſs. Utter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome in theſe things, is the beſt and ſureſt policy which*

T. C. l. i. p. 132. Tom. ii. Braca. 73.

Con. Afric. cap. 27.

[a] Ed. Par. p. 113. Lib. de Idolat. He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter-day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lord's day. Lib. de Anima.

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the Church can uſe. While we uſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying, that our Religion cannot ſtand by itſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies. They hereby conceive great hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſs. Neither is it without cauſe that they have this hope, conſidering that which Mr. Bucer noteth upon the eighteenth of St. Matthew, that where theſe things have been left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe things, it hath not yet been ſeen that it hath had any entrance. None make ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and thoſe whom they ſuborn; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and joy in theſe things. They breed grief of mind in a number that are godly minded and have Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that their minds are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly brethren we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable Ceremonies, yea Ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are means to breed. This in effect is the ſum and ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe Orders which we have common with the Church of Rome; theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would prove our Ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

T. C. l. iii. p. 179.

T. C. l. iii. p. 180.

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when Reaſon evicteth that all ſuch Ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed,

4. Before we anſwer unto theſe things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe objections proceed, do oftentimes fly for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their argument is elided. For the Ceremonies in uſe amongſt us being in no other reſpect retained, ſaving only for that to retain them is to our ſeeming good and

make anſwer; that when they condemn Popiſh Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies unprofitable, or Ceremonies, inſtead whereof as good or better may be deviſed: they cannot hereby get out of the briars, but contradict and gainſay themſelves; inaſmuch as their uſual manner is to prove that Ceremonies uncommanded in the Church of God, and yet uſed in the Church of Rome, are for this very cauſe unprofitable to us, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

profitable,

profitable, yea ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had either ſimply taken them clean away, or elſe removed them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe; the plain and direct way againſt us herein had been only to prove, that all ſuch Ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed, are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with leſs benefit than the aboliſhment of them would bring. But foraſmuch as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to perform this, they took a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church under the name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better unto them was, for that the name of Popery is more odious than very Paganiſm amongſt divers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo whatſoever they hear named Popiſh, they preſently conceive deep hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name, but needs it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The ears of the people they have therefore filled with ſtrong clamours. *The Church of England is fraught with Popiſh Ceremonies: they that favour the cauſe of reformation, maintain nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: all ſuch as withſtand them fight for the Laws of his ſworn enemy, uphold the filthy relics of Antichriſt; and are defenders of that which is Popiſh.* Theſe are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude ſo many ſighs; with theſe tunes their minds are exaſperated againſt the lawful guides and governors of their ſouls; theſe are the voices that fill them with general diſcontentment, as though the boſom of that famous Church wherein they live were more noiſome than any dungeon. But when the authors of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how can they juſtify ſuch their dealings? when they are urged directly to anſwer, whether it be lawful for us to uſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of Rome uſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God; being driven

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driven to ſee that the uſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are juſt of the ſame opinion, and that they only think ſuch Ceremonies are not to be uſed when they are unprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed [a]. Which anſwer is both idle in regard of us, and alſo repugnant to themſelves. It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of Rome, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be ſuch that others inſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſay that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh Ceremonies as are unprofitable, or elſe might have other more profitable in their ſtead, they trifle and they beat the air about nothing which toucheth us, unleſs they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which, in their judgment, have either no uſe, or leſs uſe than ſome other might have. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe, their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their me-thinketh unto the orders of the Church of England: as in the queſtion about ſurplices one of them doth; *If we look to the colour, black me-thinks is the more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comelineſs in it.* If they think that we ought to prove the Ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themſelves. For in all right and equity, that which

Eccleſ. Diſcip. fol. 200.

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 171. What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to uſe the ſame Ceremonies which the Papiſts did, when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expreſsly added, that they are not to be uſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed?

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the Church hath received and held ſo long for good, that which public approbation hath ratified, muſt carry the benefit of preſumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have ſtood up as yeſterday to challenge it of defect, muſt prove their challenge. If we being defendants do anſwer, that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and unorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion[a], and ſhew the poverty of our cauſe, the goodneſs whereof we are fain to beg that our adverſaries would grant. For on our part this muſt be the anſwer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth reſt on them. In them it is frivolous to ſay we ought not to uſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, and preſume all ſuch bad as it pleaſeth themſelves to diſlike, unleſs we can perſuade them the contrary. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelves. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to uſe the cuſtom of the Church of Rome for an argument to prove, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inaſmuch as that Church uſeth them? Which uſual kind of diſputing, ſheweth that they do not diſallow only thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable which are Romiſh, that is to ſay, which have been deviſed by the Church of Rome, or which are uſed in that Church, and not preſcribed in the Word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can uſe ſuitable unto their other poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in Doctrine and in Diſcipline ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 176. As for your often repeating that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent; it is your old wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an undoubted argument of your extreme poverty. T. C. l. iii. p. 174.

of

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of Rome, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetual commandments, in whoſe place no other can come; but Ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatſoever by the Word of God is not unchangeable in the Church of Rome, that Church's uſing is a cauſe why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, that we *are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any of their Ceremonies:* yea, they urge that this cauſe, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies*; and that the Biſhop of Saliſbury doth juſtify this their complaint [a]. The clauſe is untrue which they add concerning the Biſhop of Saliſbury, but the ſentence doth ſhew that we do them no wrong in ſetting down the ſtate of the queſtion between us thus: whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of England all ſuch Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of Rome, and are not preſcribed in the Word of God. For the affirmative whereof we are now to anſwer ſuch proofs of theirs as have been before alleged.

That our allowing the cuſtoms of our Fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow ſome cuſtoms which the Church of Rome hath, although we do not account of them as of our Fathers.

5. Let the Church of Rome be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God and our Fathers in the Chriſtian Faith, or let them be otherwiſe; hold them for Catholics, or hold them for Heretics, it is not a thing either one way or other in this preſent queſtion greatly material. Our conformity with them in ſuch things as have been propoſed is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St.

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is juſt in that we are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any of their Ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do theirs away, foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies, the reader may farther ſee in the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who brings divers proofs thereof.

Auguſtine

Auguſtine hath ſaid, yea and we have allowed his ſaying, *that the cuſtom of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the people of God, nor our forefathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This conſequent were good, if ſo be it were granted, that only the cuſtom of the people of God and the decrees of our forefathers are in ſuch caſe to be obſerved. But then ſhould no kind of latter Laws in the Church be good; which were a groſs abſurdity to think. St. Auguſtine's ſpeech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine precept, if yet we have the cuſtom of the people of God, or a decree of our forefathers, this is a Law, and muſt be kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obſerve the poſitive Conſtitutions of our own Churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by ourſelves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the Church of England might not by Law receive Orders, Rites, or Cuſtoms from the Church of Rome, although they were neither the people of God nor yet our forefathers. How much leſs, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themſelves receive from ſuch as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea ſuch as either we muſt acknowledge for our own forefathers, or elſe diſdain the race of Chriſt? BOOK IV.

6. The Rites and Orders wherein we follow the Church of Rome, are of no other kind than ſuch as the Church of Geneva itſelf doth follow them in. We follow the Church of Rome in more things; yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent controverſy is: ſo that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites only, wherein they and we do follow the Church of Rome. The uſe of wafer-cakes, the cuſtom of godfathers and That the courſe which the wiſdom of God doth teach, maketh not againſt our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſuch things.

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godmothers in baptiſm, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the Church of Rome even at this very hour. Is conformity with Rome in ſuch things a blemiſh unto the Church of England, and unto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this Church, (in the bowels whereof they have received, I truſt, that precious and bleſſed vigour, which ſhall quicken them to eternal life,) yet at the leaſtwiſe for the ſingular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they ſtrike, leſt they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead that even ſuch Ceremonies of the Church of Rome as contain in them nothing which is not of itſelf agreeable to the Word of God, ought nevertheleſs to be aboliſhed, and that neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches, do permit the Church of Rome to be therein followed. Heretics they are, and they are our neighbours. By us and amongſt us they lead their lives. But what then? therefore is no Ceremony of theirs lawful for us to uſe? We muſt yield and will, that none are lawful if God himſelf be a precedent againſt the uſe of any. But how appeareth it that God is ſo? Hereby, they ſay, it doth appear, in that *God ſevered his people from the Heathens, but ſpecially from the Egyptians, and ſuch nations as were neareſt neighbours unto them, by forbidding them to do thoſe things which were in themſelves very lawful to be done, yea very profitable ſome, and incommodious to be forborne; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them only becauſe thoſe Heathens did them, with whom conformity in the ſame thing might have bred infection. Thus in ſhaving, cutting, apparel wearing, yea in ſundry kinds of meats alſo, ſwine's fleſh, conies, and ſuch like, they were forbidden to do ſo and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad them ſuch things was to ſever them,*

T. C. l. i. p. 89. & 131. Lev. xviii. 3.

Levit. xix. 27. and 19. Deut. xxii. 11. and xiv. 7. and Lev. xi. Epheſ. ii. 14.

for

for fear of infection, by a great and an high wall from other nations, as St. Paul teacheth. The cauſe of more careful ſeparation from the neareſt nations was, the greatneſs of danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now, Papiſts are to us as thoſe nations were unto Iſrael. Therefore if the wiſdom of God be our guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent Ceremonies. Our direct anſwer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleged we may ſtill doubt whether the Lord in ſuch indifferent Ceremonies as thoſe whereof we diſpute did frame his people of ſet purpoſe unto any utter diſſimilitude, either with Egyptians, or with any other nation elſe. And if God did not forbid them all ſuch indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of Rome in ſome ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproved, although Papiſts were unto us as thoſe Heathens were unto Iſrael. *After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein you dwelt, ye ſhall not do, ſaith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of Canaan, whither I will bring you, ſhall ye not do, neither walk in their ordinances: do after my judgments, and keep my ordinances to walk therein: I am the Lord your God.* The ſpeech is indefinite, *ye ſhall not be like them:* it is not general, *ye ſhall not be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent Ceremony of theirs.* Seeing therefore it is not ſet down how far the bounds of his ſpeech concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure us that it extendeth farther than to thoſe things only wherein the nations there mentioned were idolatrous, or did againſt that which the Law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not ſeem a thing very probable, that God doth purpoſely add, *Do after my judgments,* as giving thereby to underſtand that his meaning in the former ſentence was but to bar ſimilitude in ſuch things as were repugnant unto the Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, which he had given? Egyptians and Canaanites are for example

Levit. xviii. 3, 4.

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ample ſake named unto them, becauſe the cuſtoms of the one they had been, and of the other they ſhould be beſt acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was ſuch peradventure as had been no whit leſs unlawful, although thoſe nations had never been. So that there is no neceſſity to think that God, for fear of infection by reaſon of nearneſs, forbad them to be like unto the Canaanites or the Egyptians in thoſe things which otherwiſe had been lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in itſelf, yet forbidden only becauſe they uſed it? In the Laws of Iſrael we

Levit. xix. 27. find it written; *Ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your heads, neither ſhalt thou tear the tufts of thy beard.* Theſe things were uſual amongſt thoſe nations, and in themſelves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being uſed as ſigns of immoderate and hopeleſs lamentation for the dead? In this ſenſe it is that the Law forbiddeth them. For which

ver. 28. cauſe the very next words following are; *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you: I am the Lord.* The like in Leviticus,

Levit. xxi. 5. where ſpeech is of mourning for the dead; *They ſhall not make bald parts upon their head, nor ſhave off the locks of their beard, nor make any cutting in their fleſh.*

Deut. xiv. 1. Again in Deuteronomy; *Ye are the children of the Lord your God; ye ſhall not cut yourſelves, nor make you baldneſs between your eyes for the dead.* What is this but in effect the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly ex-

1 Theſ. iv. 13. preſs, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they do who have no hope?* The very light of Nature itſelf was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe nations did uſe, having been alſo in uſe with others, the ancient Roman Laws do forbid. That ſhaving therefore and cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in itſelf indifferent, and forbidden only becauſe it was in uſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were neighbours to the people of God; but to uſe it had been a crime,

though

though no other people or nation under Heaven should have done it saving only themselves. As for those Laws concerning attires, *There shall no garment of linen and woollen come upon thee*; as also those touching food and diet, wherein swine's flesh together with sundry other meats are forbidden; the use of these things had been indeed of itself harmless and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appear, how the Law of God forbad in some special consideration, such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even here they likewise fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration in regard whereof the Law forbiddeth these things, was because those nations did use them. Likely enough it is that the Canaanites used to feed as well on sheep as on swine's flesh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reason than dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads allege this for reason, can shew I think some reason more than we are able to find why the former was not also forbidden. Might there not be some other mystery in this prohibition than they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likelihood. For what reason is there, which should but induce, and therefore much less enforce us to think that care of dissimilitude between the people of God and the Heathen nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on garments of sundry stuff, than of charging them withal not to sow their fields with meslin; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat swine's flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of eagles, hawks, and the like. Wherefore although the Church of Rome were to us, as to Israel the Egyptians and Canaanites were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wisdom of God without respect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition-wall of difference in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

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Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xxii. 11. Deut. xiv. 7. Levit. xi. Levit. xix. 19. Deut. xiv. Levit. xi. Ephes. ii. 14.

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That the example of the eldeſt Churches is not herein againſt us.

7. Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more available to this purpoſe [a]. Notwithſtanding ſome fault undoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kind of blemiſh to be like unto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo uſually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the cauſes of Religion to be able therewith juſtly to charge their adverſaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear what force this hath, and how far the ſame extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeem neither to judge nor to do amiſs, becauſe every error and offence is a ſtain to the beauty of Nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrary; from whence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſs the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of theſe. To have been in either directed by a weak and unperfect rule argueth imbecility and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other men's examples, if their perſons be odious whoſe example we chooſe to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned Heretics think, or direct our actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lies as an heavy prejudice againſt us, unleſs ſomewhat mightier than their bare example did move us to think or do the ſame things with them. Chriſtian men therefore having, beſides the common light of all men, ſo great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the lamps of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily ſeem reproachful for us to leave

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 132. The Councils although they did not obſerve themſelves always in making of decrees this rule, yet have kept this conſideration continually in making of their Laws, that they would have the Chriſtians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

both

both the one and the other to become disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the Heathens either in opinion or in action, and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example; which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable. Faustus the Manichee therefore objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the idols of the Gentiles, but their temples, and oblations, and altars, and priesthoods, and all kind of ministry of holy things, they exercised even as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the Catholic Christians likewise, that between them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference; *from them* (saith Faustus) *ye have learned to hold that one only God is the author of all; their sacrifices you have turned into feasts of charity, their idols into martyrs, whom ye honour with the like religious offices unto theirs; the ghosts of the dead ye appease with wine and delicates, the festival-days of the nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye have utterly changed nothing.* St. Augustine's defence in behalf of both is, that touching the matters of action, Jews and Catholic Christians were free from the Gentiles' faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles, and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentiles because Gentiles had so taught, but because heaven and earth had so witnessed the same to be truth, that neither the one sort could err in being fully persuaded thereof, nor the other but err in case they should not consent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent,

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Augustin. cont. Faust. Manich. tom. viii. lib. xx. cap. 4. Ed. Par. p. 334. B.

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ferent, if either councils or particular men have at any time with ſound judgment miſliked conformity between the Church of God and Infidels, the cauſe thereof hath been ſomewhat elſe than only affectation of diſſimilitude; they ſaw it neceſſary ſo to do in reſpect of ſome ſpecial accident, which the Church being not alway ſubject unto hath not ſtill cauſe to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of trial, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jeſus Chriſt to triumph over Infidelity but through the conſtancy of his ſaints, whom yet a natural deſire to ſave themſelves from the flame might peradventure cauſe to join with Pagans in external cuſtoms, too far uſing the ſame as a cloak to conceal themſelves in, and a miſt to darken the eyes of Infidels withal; for remedy hereof thoſe Laws, it might be, were provided, which forbad that Chriſtians ſhould deck their houſes with boughs as the Pagans did uſe to do, or reſt thoſe feſtival-days whereon the Pagans reſted, or celebrate ſuch feaſts as were, though not Heatheniſh, yet ſuch as the ſimpler ſort of Heathens might be beguiled in ſo thinking them [a]. As for Tertullian's judgment concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church [b]; no man, having judgment, can be ignorant how juſt exceptions may be taken againſt it. His opinion touching the Catholic Church was as unindifferent, as touching our Church the

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 132. Alſo it was decreed in another Council, that they ſhould not deck their houſes with bay-leaves and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labour thoſe days that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every month as they did.

[b] T. C. l. i. p. 132. Tertullian ſaith, O, ſaith he, better is the religion of the Heathen; for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lord's day, neither, &c. but are not afraid to be called Heathen. T. C. l. i. p. 133. But having ſhewed this in general to be the policy of God firſt, and of his people afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiouſly between the people of God and others which are not, I ſhall not, &c.

opinion

opinion of them that favour this pretended reformation is; he judged all them who did not Montanize to be but carnally minded, he judged them ſtill over-abjectly to fawn upon the Heathens, and to curry favour with Infidels; which as the Catholic Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, ſo Tertullian over often through diſcontentment carpeth injuriouſly at them, as though they did it even when they were free from ſuch meaning. But if it were ſo, that either the judgment of thoſe Councils before alleged, or of Tertullian himſelf againſt the Chriſtians, are in no ſuch conſideration to be underſtood as we have mentioned; if it were ſo, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other only for uſing the Ceremonies of a Religion contrary unto their own, and that this cauſe is ſuch as ought to prevail no leſs with us than with them; ſhall it not follow, that ſeeing there is ſtill between our Religion and Paganiſm the ſelf-ſame contrariety, therefore we are no leſs rebukeable, if we now deck our houſes with boughs, or ſend new-year's gifts unto our friends, or feaſt on thoſe days which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they infer, upon the premiſes that as great difference as commodiouſly may be there ſhould be in all outward Ceremonies between the people of God and them which are not his people. Again, they teach, as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatſoever Rites and Ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach that the very difference of ſpiritual condition itſelf between the ſervants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in Ceremonies between them, although the one be never ſo far diſjoined in time or place from the other. But in caſe the people of God and Belial do chance to be neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay is thereby made more neceſſary.

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neceſſary. In this reſpect, as the Jews were ſevered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neareſt them. And in the ſame reſpect we, which ought to differ howſoever from the Church of Rome, are now, they ſay, by reaſon of our nearneſs, more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies than from Turks. A ſtrange kind of ſpeech unto Chriſtian ears, and ſuch as, I hope, they themſelves do acknowledge unadviſedly uttered. *We are not ſo much to fear infection from Turks as from Papiſts.* What of that? we muſt remember that by conforming rather ourſelves in that reſpect to Turks, we ſhould be ſpreaders of a worſe infection unto others than any we are likely to draw from Papiſts by our conformity with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate, as Turks do, the Chriſtian, or as Canaanites did of old the Jewiſh Religion, even in groſs; the circumſtance of local nearneſs in them unto us, might haply enforce in us a duty of greater ſeparation from them than from thoſe other mentioned. But foraſmuch as Papiſts are ſo much in Chriſt nearer unto us than Turks, is there any reaſonable man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion ſhould be Popiſh, than Turkiſh or Heatheniſh? eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them, (as Iſrael in Canaan,) having not been of them: for even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt to reform ourſelves, (whence grew our ſeparation,) and then by all good means to ſeek alſo their reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged ourſelves from them in things indifferent, who ſeeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evil) that, through a froward or wanton deſire of innovation, we did unconſtrainedly thoſe things for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoever the

cauſe

cauſe, doth ſtand, as Juda had been rather to chooſe conformity in things indifferent with Iſrael when they were neareſt oppoſites, than with the fartheſt removed Pagans; ſo we in like caſes, much rather with Papiſts than with Turks. I might add farther, for a more full and complete anſwer, ſo much concerning the large odds between the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of Rome, that very cavillation itſelf ſhould be ſatisfied, and have no ſhift to fly unto.

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to have in theſe things no agreement with the Church of Rome, being unſound.

8. But that no one thing may detain us over long, I return to their reaſons againſt our conformity with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policy for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion. The ground of which politic poſition is, That *evils muſt be cured by their contraries*[a]; and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poiſon of Anti-chriſtianity, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be: a meddled eſtate of the orders of the Goſpel and the ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a ſick and reſtore a diſeaſed body unto health, muſt not endeavour ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto thoſe evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat by ſetting the body in extremity of cold, ſhall undoubtedly remove the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in ſkilful cures is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the laſt is not only of the kind,

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 131. Common reaſon alſo doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, the Goſpel and Popery, be contraries; and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured, not by itſelf, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it.

but

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but alſo of the meaſure of contrary things whereby to remove it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of Rome, think every man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeem more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely the Arians in reformed Churches of Poland, which imagine the canker to have eaten ſo far into the very bones and marrow of the Church of Rome, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound belief; no, not concerning God himſelf, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to paſs that the Biſhop of the See of Rome ſhould be famous for his triple crown, a ſenſible mark whereby the world might know him to be that myſtical Beaſt ſpoken of in the Revelation, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much as in this, that he maintaineth the Doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdom therefore and ſkill is requiſite to know what parts are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparent, which complain of unſound parts, with what kind of unſoundneſs every ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay, that in Doctrine, in Diſcipline, in Prayers, in Sacraments, the Church of Rome hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and groſs corruptions; the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they have not for the moſt part exact ſkill and knowledge to diſcern, they think that amiſs many times which is not, and the ſalve of reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the ſores are which need it, as they wot full little, ſo they think it not greatly material to ſearch. Such men's contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratagem: the uſual method of art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſs more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught and things indifferent in the Church of Rome, we

are

are yet at controverſy about the manner of removing that which is naught; whether it may not be perfectly helped, unleſs that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it ſo far, till no Rite or Ceremony remain which the Church of Rome hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw men from great exceſs is not amiſs, though we uſe them unto ſomewhat leſs than is competent; and that a crooked ſtick is not ſtraightened, unleſs it be bent as far on the clean contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle itſelf at the length in a middle ſtate of evenneſs between both [a]. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they urge us to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of Rome, do they mean we ſhould be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? Or was it the purpoſe of thoſe reformed Churches which utterly aboliſhed all Popiſh Ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenneſs and moderation? Then have we conceived amiſs of their meaning. For we have always thought their opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the Church of Rome was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawn for a time; but the very mediocrity itſelf wherein they meant we ſhould ever continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth clean contrary, that howſoever they have bent themſelves at firſt to an extreme contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer than only till ſuch time

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 132. If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobriety, the beſt and neareſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſs in drink as may be; and if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſs than he ſhould drink, than to fault in giving him more than we ought. As we ſee, to bring a ſtick which is crooked to be ſtraight, we do not only bow it ſo far until it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo far until we make it ſo crooked of the other ſide as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the midway between both the crooks.

as

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as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to lead them unto it. They have ſeen that experience of the former policy which may cauſe the authors of it to hang down their heads. When Germany had ſtricken off that which appeared corrupt in the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, but ſeemed nevertheleſs in Diſcipline ſtill to retain therewith very great conformity; France, by that rule of policy which hath been before mentioned, took away the Popiſh Orders which Germany did retain. But proceſs of time hath brought more light into the world, whereby men perceiving that they of the Religion in France have alſo retained ſome Orders which were before in the Church of Rome, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath ariſen a ſect in England, which following ſtill the very ſelf-ſame rule of policy ſeeketh to reform even the French Reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of Popery. Theſe have not taken as yet ſuch root that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to ſee, may ſomewhat teach us what poſterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatſoever evil our ſwervings on the one hand or on the other may threaten unto the ſtate of his Church!

That we are not to abolish our Ceremonies either because Papists upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are said hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes.

9. That the Church of Rome doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our Religion is not able to ſtand of itſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment that it did need to be objected, or doth deſerve to receive an anſwer [a]. The name of blaſphemy in this

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 178. By uſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by itſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies.

place,

place, is like the ſhoe of Hercules on a child's foot. If the Church of Rome do uſe any ſuch kind of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch ugly thing to the ear that we ſhould think the honour and credit of our Religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perilous a matter, do ſeem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion, the furniture whereof we ſhould not have borrowed from our enemies, leſt they relieving us might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty; whereas in truth the Ceremonies which we have taken from ſuch as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that ſect, but they are the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church of Chriſt, whereof ourſelves being a part, we have the ſelf-ſame intereſt in them which our Fathers before us had, from whom the ſame are deſcended unto us. Again, in caſe we had been ſo much beholden privately unto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying unto another, *I need thee not?* If ſome ſhould be ſo vile and impotent as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelves to have beſtowed ſome good turn, yet ſurely a wiſe body's part it were not, to put out his fire becauſe his fond and fooliſh neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, Were it not for me thou wouldeſt freeze, and not be able to heat thyſelf. As for that other argument derived from the ſecret affection of Papiſts, with whom our conformity in certain Ceremonies is ſaid to put them in great hope that their whole Religion in time will have reentrance, and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongſt us for the obſervation of theſe Ceremonies as Papiſts and ſuch as Papiſts ſuborn to ſpeak for them, [a] whereby it clearly appeareth how much they re-

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 179. To prove the Papiſts triumph and joy in theſe things I alleged farther, that there are none which make ſuch

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ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts and thoſe which they ſuborn.

[a] Ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος. Il. α'. 255.

they

they be glad, we are not to envy them this their ſolace; we do not think it a duty of ours to be in every ſuch thing their tormentors. And whereas it is ſaid[a], that Popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in ſome places taken root and flouriſhed again, but hath not been able to re-eſtabliſh itſelf in any place after proviſion made againſt it by utter evacuation of all Romiſh Ceremonies, and therefore as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in ſome more hope than if all were taken away; as we deny not but this may be true, ſo being of two evils to chooſe the leſs, we hold it better that the friends and favourers of the Church of Rome ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to have a corrupt religion reſtored, than both we and they conceive juſt fear leſt, under colour of rooting out Popery, the moſt effectual means to bear up the ſtate of Religion be removed, and ſo a way made either for Paganiſm or for extreme barbarity to enter. If deſire of weakening the hope of others ſhould turn us away from the courſe we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear, withhold us from that which we are urged unto? eſpecially ſeeing that our own fear we know, but we are not ſo certain what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient argument therefore to ſay, that in maintaining and urging theſe Ceremonies, none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts and they whom Papiſts ſuborn; this ſpeech being more hard to juſtify than the former, and ſo their proof more doubt-

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 179. Thus they conceiving hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, it cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſs, &c. For not the cauſe, but the occaſion alſo ought to be taken away, &c. Although let the reader judge, whether they have cauſe given to hope, that the tail of Popery yet remaining, they ſhall the more eaſily hale in the whole body after; conſidering alſo that Mr. Bucer noteth, that where theſe things have been left, there Popery hath returned: but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe dregs, it hath not been ſeen that it hath had any entrance.

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ful than the thing itſelf which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, muſt have marked who they be that ſpeak for Ceremonies; he muſt have noted, who amongſt them doth ſpeak oftenest or is moſt earneſt; he muſt have been both acquainted thoroughly with the religion of ſuch, and alſo privy to what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret between them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which allege this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all men know and ſee. And if ſo be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be Popiſh are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardneſs is not therefore a bridle to ſuch as favour the ſame cauſe with a better and a ſincerer meaning? They that ſeek, as they ſay, the removing of all Popiſh Orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe Orders, do (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cauſe, which they term ſo often by an excellency, *The Lord's cauſe, is* gratiſſima, *moſt acceptable, unto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoil by it, and that our age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very ſectaries of Dionyſius the famous Atheiſt.* Now if hereupon we ſhould upbraid them with irreligious, as they do us with ſuperſtitious favourers, if we ſhould follow them in their own kind of pleading, and ſay, that the moſt clamorous for this pretended reformation are either Atheiſts, or elſe Proctors ſuborned by Atheiſts; the anſwer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themſelves, and there end. For they muſt not forbid us to preſume our cauſe in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs againſt them, till the contrary be made manifeſt to the world.

Eccleſ. diſ. f. 94.

10. In

10. In the mean while ſorry we are, that any good and godly mind ſhould be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lieth not ſo much in us as in themſelves. They do not wiſh to be made glad with the hurt of the Church; and to remove all out of the Church whereat they ſhew themſelves to be ſorrowful, would be, as we are perſuaded, hurtful, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perſuade the contrary, they muſt and will, I doubt not, find out ſome other good mean to cheer up themſelves. Amongſt which means the example of Geneva may ſerve for one. Have not they the old Popiſh cuſtom of uſing godfathers and godmothers in baptiſm? the old Popiſh cuſtom of adminiſtering the bleſſed Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt with wafer-cakes? Theſe things then the godly there can digeſt. Wherefore ſhould not the godly here learn to do the like, both in them and in the reſt of the like nature? Some farther mean, peradventure, it might be to aſſuage their grief, if ſo be they did conſider the revenge they take on them which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in ſo great grief ſo long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corroſive to ſuch as oppugn them; undoubtedly to ſuch as maintain them it can be no great pleaſure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themſelves martyrs when they are grieved, ſhould think withal what they are whom they grieve. For we are ſtill to put them in mind, that the cauſe doth make no difference; for that it muſt be preſumed as good at the leaſt on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided who have ſtood for truth and who for error. So that till then the moſt effectual medicine, and withal the moſt ſound, to eaſe their grief, muſt not be (in our opinion) the taking away of thoſe things whereat they are grieved, but the altering of that perſuaſion which they have concerning the ſame. For this we therefore both pray and labour;

The grief which they ſay, godly brethren conceive in regard of ſuch Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of Rome.

T. C. l. iii. p. 180.

There be numbers which have Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that they cannot without grief of mind behold them. And afterwards, ſuch godly brethren are not eaſily to be grieved, which they ſeem to be, when they are thus martyred in their minds for Ceremonies, which (to ſpeak the beſt of them) are unprofitable.

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labour; the more becauſe we are alſo perſuaded, that it is but conceit in them to think that thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies, whereof we have hitherto ſpoken, are like leprous clothes, infectious to the Church, [a] or like ſoft and gentle poiſons, the venom whereof being inſenſibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never felt working. Thus they ſay: but becauſe they ſay it only, and the world hath not as yet had ſo great experience of their art in curing the diſeaſes of the Church, that the bare authority of their word ſhould perſuade in a cauſe ſo weighty, they may not think much if it be required at their hands to ſhew; firſt, by what means ſo deadly infection can grow from ſimilitude between us and the Church of Rome in theſe things indifferent; ſecondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church ſhould provide againſt every ſuch evil as may come to paſs, it is not ſufficient that they ſhew poſſibility of dangerous event, unleſs there appear ſome likelihood alſo of the ſame to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unleſs it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and ſufficient way of prevention but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the Church of every ſuch rite and ceremony as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this be done, their good affection towards the ſafety of the Church is acceptable, but the way they preſcribe us to preſerve it by muſt reſt in ſuſpenſe. And leſt hereat they take occaſion to turn upon us the ſpeech of the Prophet Jeremy uſed againſt Babylon,

Jer. li. 9. *Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the diſeaſes of Babylon, but ſhe through her wilfulneſs doth reſt uncured*; let them conſider into what ſtraits the Church might drive itſelf in being guided by this their counſel. Their axiom is, that the ſound believing Church of Jeſus Chriſt may not be like Heretical Churches in

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 171. Although the corruptions in them ſtrike not ſtraight to the heart, yet as gentle poiſons they conſume by little and little.

any

any of thoſe indifferent things which men make choice of, and do not take by preſcript appointment of the Word of God. In the Word of God the uſe of bread is preſcribed as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated; but as for the kind of bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of itſelf, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the uſe of unleavened bread in that Sacrament, becauſe ſuch bread the Church of Rome being Heretical uſeth. But doth not the ſelf-ſame axiom bar us even from leavened bread alſo, which the Church of the Grecians uſeth, the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame for which we condemn the Church of Rome, and in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of Rome is acknowledged to be ſound; as namely, in the Article of the Holy Ghoſt's proceeding? And leſt here they ſhould ſay, that becauſe the Greek Church is farther off, and the Church of Rome nearer, we are in that reſpect rather to uſe that which the Church of Rome uſeth not, let them imagine a reformed Church in the city of Venice, where a Greek Church and Popiſh both are; and when both theſe are equally near, let them conſider what the third ſhall do. Without leavened or unleavened bread it can have no Sacrament; the Word of God doth tie it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this conſtrain them, as it muſt, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place ſave in thoſe things only where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth, that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon than they have as yet alleged; otherwiſe they conſtrain not us to think that the Church is tied unto any ſuch rule or axiom, not then when ſhe hath the wideſt field to walk in and the greateſt ſtore of choice. BOOK IV.

11. Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of England and of Rome, we ſee what hath been hitherto alleged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one Church's having of ſuch things to Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as we have received from the

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to be ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not have them; nevertheleſs in caſe it may be proved, that amongſt the number of Rites and Orders common unto both, there are particulars the uſe whereof is utterly unlawful, in regard of ſome ſpecial bad and noiſome quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch Rites and Orders, what freedom ſoever we have to retain the other ſtill. As therefore we have heard their general exception againſt all thoſe things, which being not commanded in the Word of God were firſt received in the Church of Rome, and from thence have been derived into ours, ſo it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted againſt, not only for that they are in the Church of Rome, but are beſides either Jewiſh, or abuſed unto Idolatry, and ſo grown ſcandalous. The Church of Rome they ſay [a], being aſhamed of the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, did almoſt out of all Religions take whatſoever had any fair and gorgeous ſhew, borrowing in that reſpect from the Jews ſundry of their aboliſhed Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, all their maſſing furniture almoſt they took from the Law, leſt having an Altar and a Prieſt, they ſhould want veſtments for their ſtage; ſo that whatſoever we have in common with the Church of Rome, if the ſame be of this kind, we ought to remove it. Conſtantine, the Emperor, ſpeaking of the keeping of the feaſt of Eaſter, ſaith, *That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that moſt ſpiteful company of the Jews.* And a little after he ſaith, *That it is moſt abſurd and againſt reaſon, that the Jews ſhould vaunt and glory that the Chriſtians could not keep thoſe things without their doctrine.* And in another place it is ſaid after this ſort; *It is convenient ſo to order the*

Church of Rome, that Church having taken them from the Jews.

T. C. l. i. p. 132.

Euſeb. Pamphil. de vita Conſtantin. l. iii. c. 18. p. 405. Ed. Par. Socrat. l. i. c. 9. p. 33. C. Ed. Par.

[a] Eccleſ. Diſcip. fol. 98. and T. C. l. iii. p. 181. Many of theſe Popiſh Ceremonies faulty by reaſon of the pomp in them, where they ſhould be agreeable to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel of Chriſt crucified.

mat-

matter, that we have nothing common with that nation. The Council of Laodicea, which was afterward confirmed by the sixth general Council, decreed, *That the Christians should not take unleavened bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety.* For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered, namely, the causes wherefore the Church should decline from Jewish Ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is, that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their orders so far forth to be shunned, as we have already set down in handling the matter of Heathenish Ceremonies. For no enemies being so venomous against Christ as Jews, they were of all other most odious, and by that mean, least to be used as fit Church-patterns for imitation. Another cause is, the solemn abrogation of the Jews' Ordinances; which Ordinances for us to resume, were to check our Lord himself which hath disannulled them. But how far this second cause doth extend, it is not on all sides fully agreed upon. And touching those things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be small cause wherefore the Church should frame itself to the Jews' example in respect of their persons which are most hateful; yet God himself having been the author of their Laws, herein they are (notwithstanding the former consideration) still worthy to be honoured, and to be followed above others, as much as the state of things will bear. Jewish Ordinances had some things natural, and of the perpetuity of those things no man doubteth. That which was positive, we likewise know to have been, by the coming of Christ, partly necessary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept or not. Of the former kind, Circumcision and Sacrifice were. For this point Stephen was accused, and the evidence which his accusers brought against him in judgment was, *This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against* [14].

Tom. i. Concil. Laod. Can. 38.

Acts vi. 13,

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againſt this holy place and the Law; for we have heard him ſay, That this Jeſus of Nazareth ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the Ordinances that Moſes gave us. True it is, that this Doctrine was then taught, which unbelievers condemning for blaſphemy did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding, from whom Stephen had received it, did not ſo teach the abrogation, no not of thoſe things which were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that even the Jews, being Chriſtian, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in Jeruſalem, the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed was Mark, and he not Biſhop till the days of Adrian the Emperor, after the overthrow of Jeruſalem; there having been fifteen Biſhops before him which were all of the circumciſion. The Chriſtian Jews did think at the firſt not only themſelves, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerve the whole Law. There went forth certain of the ſect of Phariſees which did believe; and they coming unto Antioch taught, that it was neceſſary for the Gentiles to be circumciſed, and to keep the Law of Moſes. Whereupon there grew diſſenſion, Paul and Barnabas diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Council held at Jeruſalem concerning this matter was finally this; *Touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined, that they obſerve no ſuch thing:* their proteſtation by letters is, *For as much as we have heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbered your minds, ſaying, Ye muſt be circumciſed and keep the Law; know, that we gave them no ſuch commandment.* Paul therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obſerve the Laws of Moſes, but that the obſervation of thoſe Laws, which were neceſſarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point, his Doctrine was miſreported, as though he had every where preached this not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching

Vide Niceph. lib. iii. cap. 25. et Sulpit. Sever. p. 149. in edit. Plant.

Acts xv.

Acts xxi. 25.

Acts xv. 24.

ing the Jews. Wherefore coming unto James and the reſt of the clergy at Jeruſalem, they told him plainly of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, Brother, how many thouſand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Jews which are amongſt the Gentiles to forſake Moſes, and ſayeſt, that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to live after the cuſtoms.* And hereupon they give him counſel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were untrue, and that himſelf being a Jew kept the Law, even as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, that there ought not to be conformity between the Chriſtian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this Law of inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This general is true, that the Gentiles were not made ſo conformable unto the Jews, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt. Touching things poſitive, which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendering the zeal of the Jews, thought it neceſſary to bind even the Gentiles for a time to abſtain, as the Jews did, *from things offered unto Idols, from blood, from ſtrangled.* Theſe decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles to be ſtraightly obſerved and kept. In the other matters, where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion ſtill tied, the Apoſtles' doctrine unto the Jews was, *Condemn not the Gentile*; unto the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Jews.* The one ſort they warned to take heed that ſcrupuloſity did not make them rigorous in giving unadviſed ſentence againſt their brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become ſcandalous by abuſing their liberty and freedom, to the offence of their weak brethren which were ſcrupulous. From hence therefore, two concluſions there are which may evidently be drawn; the firſt, that whatſoever conformity of poſitive Laws

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Acts xxi. 20, 21.

Acts xv. 28, 29.

Acts xvi. 4.

Rom. xiv. 10.

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the Apoſtles did bring in between the Churches of Jews and Gentiles, it was in thoſe things only which might either ceaſe or continue a ſhorter or a longer time, as occaſion did moſt require; the ſecond, that they did not impoſe upon the Churches of the Gentiles any part of the Jews' Ordinances with bond of neceſſary and perpetual obſervation (as we all, both by doctrine and practice, acknowledge,) but only in reſpect of the conveniency and fitneſs for the preſent ſtate of the Church, as then it ſtood. The words of the Council's Decree, concerning the Gentiles, are, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, ſaving only theſe things of neceſſity; abſtinence from Idol-offerings, from ſtrangled, and blood, and from fornication.* So that in other things poſitive which the coming of Chriſt did not neceſſarily extinguiſh, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to ſeem unreaſonable, that the Gentiles ſhould neceſſarily be bound and tied to Jewiſh Ordinances ſo far forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew that their difference from other nations, which were aliens and ſtrangers from God, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that God's people had poſitive Ordinances given to them of God himſelf; it ſeemeth marvellous hard, that the Chriſtian Gentiles ſhould be incorporated into the ſame commonwealth with God's own choſen people, and be ſubject to no part of his Statutes, more than only the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themſelves bound unto. It was an opinion conſtantly received amongſt the Jews, that God did deliver unto the ſons of Noah ſeven precepts[a]; namely, to live in ſome form of regiment under, firſt, public Laws; ſecondly, to ſerve and call upon the name of God; thirdly, to ſhun Idolatry; fourthly, not to ſuffer effuſion of the blood; fifthly, to abhor all unclean knowledge in the

[a] Lex qui ſeptem illam inſcribitur.

1 דינין 2 ברכת השם 3 עוא 4 שפיכות דמים 5 גילוי ערוה
6 הגזל 7 אבר מן החי.

fleſh;

fleſh; ſixthly, to commit no rapine; ſeventhly, and finally, not to eat of any living creature, whereof the blood was not firſt let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempted from the Law of Moſes, yet it might ſeem hard they ſhould alſo caſt off even thoſe things poſitive which were obſerved before Moſes, and which were not of the ſame kind with Laws that were neceſſarily to ceaſe. And peradventure hereupon the Council ſaw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles ſhould according unto the third, the ſeventh, and the fifth of thoſe precepts, abſtain from things ſacrificed unto Idols, from ſtrangled, and blood, and from fornication. The reſt, the Gentiles did of their own accord obſerve. Nature leadeth them thereunto. And did not nature alſo teach them to abſtain from fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reaſon think, that as the former two are poſitive; ſo likewiſe this, being meant as the Apoſtle doth otherwiſe uſually underſtand it. But very marriage within a number of degrees being not only by the Law of Moſes, but alſo by the Law of the ſons of Noah, (for ſo they took it,) an unlawful diſcovery of nakedneſs; this diſcovery of nakedneſs by unlawful marriages, ſuch as Moſes in the Law reckoneth up, I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that Canon, than fornication according unto the ſenſe of the Law of Nature. Words muſt be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apoſtles command to abſtain from blood. Conſtrue this meaning according to the Law of Nature, and it will ſeem that homicide only is forbidden. But conſtrue it in reference to the Law of the Jews, about which the queſtion was, and it ſhall eaſily appear to have a clean other ſenſe, and in any man's judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating and not of ſhedding blood: ſo if we ſpeak of fornication, he that knoweth no Law but only the Law of Nature, muſt

Heb. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. v. 11. Gal. v. 19. Lev. xviii.

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must needs make thereof a narrower construction, than he which measureth the same by a Law wherein sundry kinds even of conjugal copulation are prohi-

1 Cor. v. 1. bited as impure, unclean, unhonest. St. Paul himself doth term incestuous marriage fornication. If any do rather think, that the Christian Gentiles themselves, through the loose and corrupt custom of those times, took simple fornication for no sin, and were in that respect offensive unto believing Jews, which by the Law had been better taught, our proposing of another conjecture is unto them no prejudice. Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; some things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, some things also there were, wherein no Law of God did let but that they might be either like or unlike, as occasion should require. And unto this purpose Leo saith, *Apostolical Ordinance, (beloved,) knowing that our Lord Jesus Christ came not into this world to undo the Law, hath in such sort distinguished the mysteries of the Old Testament, that certain of them it hath chosen out to benefit Evangelical knowledge withal, and for that purpose appointed that those things which before were Jewish, might now be Christian customs.* The cause why the Apostles did thus conform the Christians as much as might be according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better. The Church of Christ hath had in no one thing so many and so contrary occasions of dealing, as about Judaism: some having thought the whole Jewish Law wicked and damnable in itself; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or farther unlawful to be observed than truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observance of the Law of Moses necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the Apostles' times; some

Leo in Jejun. mens. Sept. Ser. xvi. cap. i. tom. i. pag. 133. Ed. Par.

ſome as Heretics, holding the ſame no leſs even after the contrary determination ſet down by conſent of the Church at Jeruſalem; finally, ſome being herein reſolute through mere infidelity and with open profeſſed enmity againſt Chriſt, as unbelieving Jews. To control ſlanderers of the Law and Prophets, ſuch as Marcionites and Manichees were, the Church in her Liturgies hath intermingled with readings out of the New Teſtament, leſſons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto Tertullian alluding ſaith of the Church of Chriſt, *It intermingleth with Evangelical and Apoſtolical writings the Law and the Prophets, and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with water it ſealeth, clotheth with the Spirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with Martyrdom ſetteth forward.* They would have wondered in thoſe times to hear that any man being not a favourer of hereſy ſhould term this by way of diſdain, [a] *mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles.* They which honour the Law as an image of the wiſdom of God himſelf, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? was the Law ſo aboliſhed with Chriſt, that after his aſcenſion the office of Prieſts became immediately wicked [b], and the very name hateful, as importing the exerciſe of an ungodly function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, until the time of that final deſolation was accompliſhed, the very Chriſtian Jews did continue with their Sacrifices and other parts of legal ſervice. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to aboliſh did not ſo ſoon become unlawful to be

Tertul. de præſcript. adverſ. hæret. cap. 36. p. 245. Ed. Par.

[a] T. C. lib. iii. p. 171. What an abuſing alſo is it to affirm the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to have been brought into the Church by godly and learned men?

[b] T. C. l. i. p. 216. Seeing that the office and function of Prieſts was after our Saviour Chriſt's aſcenſion naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called, which did exerciſe that ungodly function, cannot be otherwiſe taken, than in the evil part.

obſerved

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obſerved as ſome imagine; nor was it afterward unlawful ſo far, that the very name of altar, of prieſts, of ſacrifice itſelf, ſhould be baniſhed out of the world. For though God do now hate ſacrifice, whether it be Heatheniſh or Jewiſh, ſo that we cannot have the ſame things which they had but with impiety; yet unleſs there be ſome greater let than the only evacuation of the Law of Moſes, the names themſelves may (I hope) be retained without ſin, in reſpect of that proportion, which things eſtabliſhed by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And ſo throughout all the writings of the ancient Fathers, we ſee that the words which were, do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical uſe, and are as ſo many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did ſignify in the letter, is accompliſhed in the truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to uſe names whereunto the Law was accuſtomed; ſo neither are we generally forbidden the uſe of things which the Law hath, though it neither command us any particularity, as it did the Jews a number, and the weightieſt which it did command them are unto us in the Goſpel prohibited. Touching ſuch as, through ſimplicity of error, did urge univerſal and perpetual obſervation of the Law of Moſes at the firſt, we have ſpoken already. Againſt Jewiſh Heretics and falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelf-ſame, St. Paul in every Epiſtle commonly either diſputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zealous for the Law, but withal Infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianity, and to the name of Jeſus Chriſt moſt ſpiteful enemies, did, while they flouriſhed, no leſs perſecute the Church than Heathens; but after their eſtate was overthrown, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit, becauſe they had their ſynagogues in every famous city almoſt throughout the world, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from

from the Chriſtian Faith, which to do they ſpared no labour; this gave the Church occaſion to make ſundry Laws againſt them. As, in the Council of Laodicea, *The feſtival preſents which Jews or Heretics uſe to ſend, muſt not be received, nor holidays ſolemnized in their company.* Again, *From the Jews men ought not to receive their unleavened (bread), nor to communicate with their impieties.* Which Council was afterwards indeed confirmed by the ſixth general Council. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning both of the one and the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to communicate in unleavened bread, becauſe the Jews did ſo, being enemies of the Church? He which attentively ſhall weigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid communion with Jews, than imitation of them; much more if with theſe two decrees be compared a third in the Council of Conſtantinople; *Let no man, either of the Clergy or Laity, eat the unleavened of the Jews, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſs, nor take phyſic at their hands, nor as much as go into the bath with them. If any do otherwiſe, being a Clergyman, let him be depoſed; if being a Layperſon, let excommunication be his puniſhment.* If theſe canons were any argument, that they which made them did utterly condemn ſimilitude between the Chriſtians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto Religion, either becauſe the Jews were enemies unto the Church, or elſe for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; theſe reaſons had been as ſtrong and effectual againſt their keeping the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the cuſtom of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning till Conſtantine's time. For in theſe two things the Eaſt and Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the Jews, and concur with them; the Weſt Church uſing unleavened bread as the Jews in their Paſſover did, but differing from them in the day whereon they

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Conc. Laod. Can. 37, 38. T. C. lib. i. p. 132. T. C. lib. iii. p. 176.

Conc. Conſtantinop. vi. cap. 11.

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they kept the feaſt of Eaſter; contrariwiſe, the Eaſt Church celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter on the ſame day with the Jews, but not uſing the ſame kind of bread which they did. Now if to the Eaſt Church in uſing leavened bread had done well, either for that the Jews were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Jewiſh Ceremonies were abrogated, how ſhould we think but that Victor the Biſhop of Rome (whom all judicious men do in that behalf diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the feaſt of Eaſter? Again, if the Weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Jews, in the feaſt of Eaſter what reaſon had they to draw the Eaſtern Church herein unto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelves unto it in the ceremony of leavened bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breed no controverſy between one Church and another; but if controverſy be once bred, it muſt be ended. The feaſt of Eaſter being therefore litigious in the days of Conſtantine, who honoured of all other Churches moſt the Church of Rome, which Church was the mother, from whoſe breaſts he had drawn that food which gave him nouriſhment to eternal life; ſith agreement was neceſſary, and yet impoſſible, unleſs the one part were yielded unto, his deſire was that of the two, the Eaſtern Church ſhould rather yield. And to this end he uſeth ſundry perſuaſive ſpeeches. When Stephen Biſhop of Rome, going about to ſhew what the Catholic Church ſhould do, had alleged what the Heretics themſelves did, namely, that they received ſuch as came unto them, and offered not to baptize them anew; St. Cyprian being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether Heretics converted ought to be rebaptized, yea or no?* anſwered the allegation of Pope Stephen with exceeding great ſtomach, ſaying, *To this device of wilfulneſs the Church of God and Spouſe*

Cypr. ad Pomp. p. 212. Epiſt. lxxj. Ed. Oxon.

Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her ways ſhe frameth to the example of Heretics, that to celebrate the Sacraments, which heavenly inſtruction hath delivered, light itſelf dith borrow from darkneſs, and Chriſtians do that which Antichriſts do. Now albeit Conſtantine have done that to farther a better cauſe, which Cyprian did to countenance a worſe, namely, the rebaptization of Heretics, and have taken advantage at the odiouſneſs of the Jews, as Cyprian of Heretics, becauſe the Eaſtern Church kept their Feaſt of Eaſter always the fourteenth day of the month as the Jews did, what day of the week ſoever it fell; or howſoever Conſtantine did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe, to ſay, [a] *It is unworthy to have any thing common with that ſpiteful nation of the Jews*; ſhall every motive argument uſed in ſuch kind of conferences, be made a rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other allegations ſuitable BOOK IV.

[a] Socr. Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. l. v. c. 22. p. 284. B. Ed. Par. Plerique in Aſiâ minore antiquitus 14. die menſis, nullâ ratione dici Sabbati habitâ, hoc feſtum obſervarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, uſque eo nequaquam diſſenſerunt, quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτηται appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, Irenæus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per epiſtolam graviter invectus eſt.

Euſeb. Pamphil. de vita Conſtant. lib. iii. cap. 18. p. 405. Ed. Par. Quid præſtabilius, quidve auguſtius eſſe poterat, quam ut hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus, uno modo et ratione apud omnes integre ſincereque obſervaretur? Ac primum omnium indignum plane videbatur ut ritum et conſuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerunt, merito, ut ſceleſtos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtud feſtum ſanctiſſimum acceremus. In noſtra enim ſitum eſt poteſtate ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis ſincero inſtituto (quod quidem uſque a prima paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus feſti celebrationem ad poſteriorum ſeculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur ſit nobis cum Judæorum turba, omnium odioſa maxime.

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unto it ceaſe to bark any longer idly againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as have been abuſed by the Church of Rome, and are ſaid in that reſpect to be ſcandalous.

12. But the weightieſt exception, and of all the moſt worthy to be reſpected, is againſt ſuch kind of Ceremonies, as have been ſo groſsly and shamefully abuſed in the Church of Rome, that where they remain they are ſcandalous, yea, they cannot choose but be ſtumbling-blocks, and grievous cauſes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are firſt to note, what properly it is to be ſcandalous or offenſive. Secondly, what kind of Ceremonies are ſuch. And thirdly, when they are neceſſarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar ſort is, whenſoever they ſee any thing which they miſlike and are angry at, to think that every ſuch thing is ſcandalous, and that themſelves in this caſe are the men concerning whom our Saviour ſpake in ſo fearful a manner, ſaying, *Whoſoever ſhall ſcandalize or offend any one of theſe little ones which believe in me*, (that is, as they conſtrue it, whoſoever ſhall anger the meaneſt and ſimpleſt artiſan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the Church ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as diſpleaſe him,) *better he were drowned in the bottom of the ſea.* But hard were the caſe of the Church of Chriſt, if this were to ſcandalize. Men are ſcandalized when they are moved, led, and provoked unto ſin. At good things evil men may take occaſion to do evil; and ſo Chriſt himſelf was a rock of offence in Iſrael; they taking occaſion at his poor eſtate, and at the ignominy of his croſs, to think him unworthy the name of that great and glorious Meſſias, whom the Prophets deſcribe in ſuch ample and ſtately terms. But that which we therefore term offenſive, becauſe it inviteth men to offend, and, by a dumb kind of provocation, encouraging, leading, or any way leadeth unto ſin, muſt of neceſſity be acknowledged actively ſcandalous. Now ſome things are ſo even by their very eſ-

Matt. xviii. 6.

1 Pet. ii. 8.

ſence

fence and nature, so that whereſoever they be found, they are not, neither can be, without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kind, all examples of ſin and wickedneſs are. Thus David was ſcandalous, in that bloody act, whereby he cauſed the enemies of God to be blaſphemous: thus the whole ſtate of Iſrael was ſcandalous, when their public diſorders cauſed the name of God to be ill ſpoken of amongſt the nations. It is of this kind that Tertullian meaneth; *Offence or ſcandal, if I be not deceived,* ſaith he, *is when the example not of a good but of an evil thing doth ſet men forward unto ſin. Good things can ſcandalize none, ſave only evil minds.* Good things have no ſcandalizing nature in them: yet that which is of its own nature either good, or at leaſt not evil, may by ſome accident become ſcandalous at certain times, and in certain places, and to certain men; the open uſe thereof, nevertheleſs, being otherwiſe without danger. The very nature of ſome Rites and Ceremonies therefore is ſcandalous, as it was in a number of thoſe which the Manichees did uſe, and is in all ſuch as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offenſive only through the agreement of men to uſe them unto evil, and not elſe; as the moſt of thoſe things indifferent which the Heathens did to the ſervice of their falſe gods, which another, in heart condemning their idolatry, could not do with them in ſhew and token of approbation without being guilty of ſcandal given. Ceremonies of this kind are either deviſed at the firſt unto evil, as the Eunomian Heretics in diſhonour of the bleſſed Trinity brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſs the cuſtom of the Church which in baptiſm did it thrice; or elſe having had a profitable uſe, they are afterward interpreted and wreſted to the contrary, as thoſe Hereticks which held the Trinity to be three diſtinct, not Perſons, but Natures, abuſed the Ceremony of three times laying on water in baptiſm, unto the ſtrengthening of their hereſy. The element of water is in

2 Sam. xii. 14.

Rom. ii. 24. Ezek. xxxvi. 20.

Tertul. Lib. de Virgin. Veland. p. 194. A. Ed. Par.

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baptiſm neceſſary; once to lay it on or twice, is indifferent. For which cauſe Gregory, making mention thereof, ſaith, *To dive an infant either thrice or but once in baptiſm, can be no way a thing reprovable; ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Dignity of Perſons, and in one, the Unity of the Godhead may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two Ceremonies, neither being hurtful in itſelf, both may ſerve unto good purpoſe; yet one was deviſed and the other converted unto evil. Now whereas in the Church of Rome certain Ceremonies are ſaid to have been ſhamefully abuſed unto evil, as the Ceremony of croſſing at baptiſm, of kneeling at the Euchariſt, of uſing wafer-cakes, and ſuch like; the queſtion is, whether, for remedy of that evil wherein ſuch Ceremonies have been ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill unto ſome even amongſt ourſelves, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirm in that former error whereto they ſerved in times paſt, they are of neceſſity to be removed. Are theſe, or any other Ceremonies we have common with the Church of Rome, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any ſuch as have been polluted from their very birth, and inſtituted, even at the firſt, unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiouſly at the firſt, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then, what doth let, but that the uſe thereof may ſtand without offence? The names of our months and of our days[a], we are not ignorant from whence

Greg. Pap. Epiſt. ad Leandrum. Hiſp. Lib. i. Ep. 43. tom. ii. p. 532. Ed. Par.

[a] Hom. xi. de Paſch. Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum hominum occæcaverat, ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, et diverſis Elementorum ac Dæmonum nationibus Dies vocitarent, et luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. Beda de ratione temp. cap. iv. Octavus dies idem primus eſt, in quem reditur, indeque rurſus Hebdomada inchoatur. Hi quoque a planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes a Sole [illegible], a Luna corpus, a Marte ſanguinem, a Mercurio [illegible] linguam, a Jove temperantiam, a Venere voluptatem, a Saturno tarditatem. Iſid. Hiſp. lib. v. Etymol. cap. 30. Dies dicti a Diis, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſideribus ſacraverunt.

they

they came, and with what diſhonour unto God they are ſaid to have been deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectual to ſtir hatred, than that which ſometime the ancient Fathers in this caſe ſpeak? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in uſe throughout Chriſtendom without hurt or ſcandal to any. Clear and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Heretics, yea, deviſed of a very heretical purpoſe, even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have been withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that cuſtom, the inventors whereof were the Eunomian Heretics. So that cuſtoms once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our Ceremonies which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted than unto good, yea, ſo uſed at the firſt. It followeth then, that they all are ſuch as having ſerved to good purpoſe, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as objected againſt us, that we retain together with them the evil wherewith they have been infected in the Church of Rome, I would demand, who they are whom we ſcandalize, by uſing harmleſs things unto that good end for which they were firſt inſtituted? Amongſt ourſelves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good uſe, no man will ſay, that one of us is offenſive and ſcandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the Church of Rome, they know how far we herein differ and diſſent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their public writings alſo profeſs daily how much it grieveth them. So that of them there will not many riſe up againſt us, as witneſſes unto the indictment of ſcandal whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as having ſtrengthened them in that evil wherewith they pollute themſelves in the uſe of the ſame Ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand

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the Church of England herein, and hate it because it doth not ſufficiently ſeem to hate Rome; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of Popiſh error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are ſcandalous through the uſe of abuſed Ceremonies, is not ſo apparent, that it can juſtly be ſaid in general of any one ſort of men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it be ſo, that now or then ſome few are eſpied, who having been accuſtomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, are not ſo recovered of their former ruſt as to forſake their ancient perſuaſion which they have had, howſoever they frame themſelves to outward obedience of Laws and Orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſtrue the meaning of our Ceremonies, and ſo take them, as though they were in every ſort the ſame they have been, ſhall this be thought a reaſon ſufficient whereon to conclude that ſome Law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh all ſuch Ceremonies? They anſwer, that there is no Law of God which doth bind us to retain them; and St. Paul's rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtain, we ſhould frame the uſage of our liberty, with regard to the weakneſs and imbecility of our brethren. Wherefore unto them which ſtood upon their own defence, ſaying, *All things are lawful unto me*; he replieth, *but all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are clean, all meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth offenſively. If for thy meat's ſake thy brother be grieved, thou walkeſt no longer according to charity. Deſtroy not him with thy meat for whom Chriſt died. Diſſolve not for food's ſake the work of God. We that are ſtrong muſt bear the infirmity of the impotent, and not pleaſe ourſelves. It was a weakneſs in the Chriſtian Jews, and infirmity of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meats which themſelves were afraid to touch for fear of tranſ-

1 Cor. vi. 12.

transgreſſing the Law of Moſes; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had juſt cauſe to fear, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianity than endure any fellowſhip with ſuch as made no conſcience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weak by meats, and of diſſolving the work of God, which was his Church, a part of the living ſtones whereof were believing Jews. Now thoſe weak brethren before mentioned are ſaid to be as the Jews were, and our Ceremonies which have been abuſed in the Church of Rome, to be as the ſcandalous meats, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtain in the preſence of Jews for fear of averting them from Chriſtian Faith. Therefore as charity did bind them to refrain from that for their brethren's ſake, which otherwiſe was lawful enough for them; ſo it bindeth us for our brethren's ſake likewiſe, to aboliſh ſuch Ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retain them. But between theſe two caſes there are great odds. For neither are our weak brethren as the Jews, nor the Ceremonies which we uſe as the meats which the Gentiles uſed. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that reſpect; whereas contrariwiſe the imbecility of ours is not common unto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance, if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity that our practice ſhould frame itſelf by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Again, their uſe of meats was not like unto our Ceremonies, that being a matter of private action in common life, where every man was free to order that which himſelf did, but this a public conſtitution for the ordering of the Church; and we are not to look that the Church ſhould change her public Laws and Ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fitteſt for the whole,

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Rom. xiv. & xv. 1.

Vide Harmenop. lib. i. tit. 1. ſect. 28.

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whole, although it chance that for ſome particular men the ſame be found inconvenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconveniences. In this caſe therefore, where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject inſtruction, as being an unmeet plaiſter to apply unto it; neither can we ſay, that he which appointeth teachers for phyſicians in this kind of evil, is,

T. C. l. iii. p. 178.

As if a man would ſet one to watch a child all day long, leſt he ſhould hurt himſelf with a knife; whereas by taking away the knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the ſervice of the man better employed. For a knife may be taken from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and diſcretion to uſe it. But the Ceremonies which children do abuſe, if we remove quite and clean, as it is by ſome required that we ſhould, then are they not taken from children only, but from others alſo; which is as though becauſe children may perhaps hurt themſelves with knives, we ſhould conclude, that therefore the uſe of knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhall in the next book have occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the public duties of the Church whereunto each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch reaſons to be examined as have at any time been brought either againſt the one or the other. In the mean while, againſt the conveniency of curing ſuch evils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is, that they ſhould object the multitude of other neceſſary matters wherein preachers may better beſtow their time, than in giving [illegible] warning not to abuſe Ceremonies [a]. A

[a] [illegible] p. 177. It is not ſo convenient, that the Miniſter [illegible] many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, [illegible] given to ſpend it in giving warning of not abuſing [illegible] which (although they were uſed to the beſt) there is no profit.

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wonder it is, that they ſhould object this, which have ſo many years together troubled the Church with quarrels, concerning theſe things; and are even to this very hour ſo earneſt in them, that if they write or ſpeak publickly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of England, in reſpect of abuſed Ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raiſed contention therein, about the abuſe of Rites and Ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeed ſtore of matters fitter and better a great deal for teachers to ſpend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement aſſeverations, more than through any ſuch experience which we have had of our own, that we are enforced to think it poſſible for one or other, now and then, at leaſtwiſe, in the prime of the reformation of our Church, to have ſtumbled at ſome kind of Ceremonies. Wherein, for as much as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; ſith alſo, they farther pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a ſnare to their ſouls that are at any time taken therein; they muſt give our teachers leave, for the ſaving of thoſe ſouls, (be they never ſo few,) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, admonition concerning theſe not unneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yield this leave, conſidering that hereunto we ſhall not need to uſe the hundredth part of that time, which themſelves think very needful to beſtow in making moſt bitter invectives againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

* Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches reformed before ours, have caſt out thoſe things, which we, notwithſtanding their example to the contrary, do retain ſtill.

* 13. But to come to the laſt point of all; the Church of England is grievouſly charged with forgetfulneſs of her duty, which duty had been to frame herſelf unto the pattern of their example that went before her in the work of reformation. † *For as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt unlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to*

† T. C. l. i. p. 133.

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to be moſt like one unto another, and for preſervation of unity, to have as much as poſſibly may be all the ſame Ceremonies. And therefore St. Paul, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the poor upon the firſt day of the Sabbath, 1 Cor. xvi. 1. *(which is our Sunday,) alleged this for a reaſon, That he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Again, *As children of one Father, and ſervants of one family, ſo all Churches ſhould not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but alſo wear, as it were, one livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.* Thirdly, [a] *This rule did the great Council of Nice follow, when it ordained, That where certain at the feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray kneeling, they ſhould pray ſtanding; the reaſon whereof is added, which is, That one cuſtom ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true, That the diverſity of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another, but yet it maketh moſt to the avoiding of diſſenſion, that there be amongſt them an unity not only in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies. And therefore our form of ſervice is to be amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the reformed Churches.* Being aſked to what Churches ours ſhould conform itſelf? and why other reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelves to ours? their anſwer is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we have better than others, they ought to frame themſelves to us; if they have better than we, then we ought to frame ourſelves to them; if the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter Churches ſhould conform themſelves to the firſt, as the younger daughter to the elder. For as St.* Rom. xvi. 5-7. *Paul in the members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel; ſo is it, for the ſame*

[a] The Canon of that Council which is here cited does not provide againſt kneeling at prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after Eaſter, on any day, and not at the feaſt of Pentecoſt only.

cauſe,

cauſe, amongſt the Churches. And in this reſpect he pincheth the Corinths, that not being the firſt which received the Goſpel, yet they would have their ſeveral manners from other Churches. Moreover, where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themſelves unto the more. For as much therefore as all the Churches (ſo far as they know which plead after this manner) *of our confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our Church ought, either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conform herſelf in that, which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.* In this axiom, that preſervation of peace and unity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good means procured, we join moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that, to the avoiding of diſſenſion, it availeth much, that there be amongſt them an unity as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is, about the manner of their unity; how far Churches are bound to be uniform in their Ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the rule which they have ſet down is, That in Ceremonies indifferent, all Churches ought to be one of them unto another as like as poſſibly they may be. Which *poſſibly*, we cannot otherwiſe conſtrue, than that it doth require them to be even as like as they may be without breaking any poſitive ordinance of God. For the Ceremonies whereof we ſpeak, being matter of poſitive Law; they are indifferent, if God hath neither himſelf commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Church's diſcretion; ſo that if as great uniformity be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the Law of God forbiddeth not any one of them, it followeth, that from the greateſt unto the leaſt, they muſt be in every Chriſtian Church the ſame, except mere impoſſibility of ſo having it be the hinderance. To us this opinion ſeemeth over extreme and violent: we rather incline to think it a juſt and reaſonable

1 Cor. xiv. 37.

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which

which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them. Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſenſion, becauſe, that which Churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; and if any man do, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of God and men moſt juſtly blameable, as a needleſs diſturber of the peace of God's Church, and an author of diſſenſion? In ſaying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they preſs the Church of England with ſo ſtrict a bond of duty in theſe things, and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, that there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies uniformity, unleſs impoſſibility hinder it. For proof whereof, it is not enough to allege what St. Paul did about the matter of collections, or what noblemen do in the liveries of their ſervants, or what the Council of Nice did for ſtanding in time of prayer on certain days; becauſe, though St. Paul did will them of the Church of Corinth [a], every man to lay up ſomewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reſerve it in ſtore till himſelf did come thither to ſend it to the Church of Jeruſalem for relief of the poor there, ſignifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the Churches of Galatia; yet the reaſon which he yieldeth of this order taken, both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning collection for the ſaints*, (he meaneth them of Jeruſalem,) *as I have given order to the Church of Galatia, ſo likewiſe do ye*, (ſaith the Apoſtle;) *that is, in every firſt day of the week, let each of you lay aſide by himſelf, and reſerve according to that which God hath bleſſed him with; that when I come, collections be not then* 1 Cor. xvi. 1—3.

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[a] T. C. l. i. p. 132. And therefore St. Paul, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of Corinth, that they ſhould make their gatherings for the poor upon the firſt day of the Sabbath, (which is our Sunday,) allegeth this for a reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.

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to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chooſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by letters, to carry your beneficence unto Jeruſalem. Out of which words to conclude the duty of uniformity throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent Ceremonies will be very hard, and therefore beſt to give it over. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture to give it ſome kind of countenance more than the pretext of livery-coats afforded them [a]. For neither is it any man's duty to clothe all his children or all his ſervants with one weed, nor theirs to clothe themſelves ſo, if it were left to their own judgments, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like divers families, than like divers ſervants of one family, becauſe every Church, the ſtate whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for itſelf in things indifferent; therefore of the two we may rather infer, that as one family is not abridged of liberty to be clothed in frier's-gray for that another doth wear clay-colour, ſo neither are all Churches bound to the ſelf-ſame indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh ſundry to uſe. As for that Canon in the Council of Nice, let them but read it and weigh it well. The ancient uſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendom was, for fifty days after Eaſter, (which fifty days were called Pentecoſt, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them, which is Whitſunday, be ſo called,) in like ſort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year their manner was to ſtand at prayer; whereupon their meetings unto that purpoſe on thoſe days had

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 133. So that as children of one Father, and ſervants of one Maſter, he will have all the Churches, not only have one diet, in that they have one word, but alſo wear, as it were, one livery, in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.

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the name of Stations given them. Of which cuſtom Tertullian ſpeaketh in this wiſe; [a] *It is not with us thought fit either to faſt on the Lord's day, or to pray kneeling. The ſame immunity from faſting and kneeling we keep all the time which is between the feaſts of Eaſter and Pentecoſt.* This being therefore an Order generally received in the Church; when ſome began to be ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole Church, even by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common pale; the Council of Nice thought good to encloſe them again with the reſt, by a Law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of prayer on the Lord's day, and in the fifty days after Eaſter; the holy Synod judging it meet, that a convenient cuſtom be obſerved throughout all Churches, hath decreed, that ſtanding we make our prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the ſame if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority whereunto each particular is ſubject, and that the ſpirit of ſingularity in a few ought to give place unto public judgment: this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in every indifferent Ceremony to be uniform; becauſe where the whole Church hath not tied the parts unto one and the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as others do, or elſe otherwiſe without any breach of duty at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good that all Chriſtian

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[a] T. C. l. i. p. 132. This rule did the great Council of Nice follow, &c. Die Dominico et per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, et jejunium ſolvere, &c. De Coro. Militis.

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Churches ſhould be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to paſs was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that ſeeing the Law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may uſe, and in ſo great variety of them as may be found out, it is not poſſible, that the Law of Nature and Reaſon ſhould direct all Churches unto the ſame things, each deliberating by itſelf what is moſt convenient; the way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all muſt needs be the judgment of ſome judicial authority drawn into one only [illegible] which may be a rule for every particular [illegible] to follow. And becauſe ſuch authority over all Churches, is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man, there yet remaineth that which hath [illegible] always followed as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way; namely, the verdict of the whole Church orderly taken and ſet down in the aſſembly of ſome general Council. But to maintain, that all Chriſtian Churches ought for unity's ſake to be uniform in all Ceremonies, and then to teach that the way of bringing this to paſs muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we [illegible] better Ceremonies than others, they ſhall be bound to follow us, and we them, where their's are better; how ſhould we think it agreeable and conſonant unto Reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature, there is ſuch variety of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to think that better, which another Church led by other inducements judgeth to be worſe; (for example, the Eaſt Church did think it better to keep Eaſter-day after the manner of the Jews, the Weſt Church better to do otherwiſe; the Greek Church judgeth it worſe to uſe unleavened bread in the Euchariſt, the Latin Church leavened; one Church eſteemeth it not ſo good to receive the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being

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on the one ſide probable motives, as well as on the other;) unleſs they add ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt in ſuch ſort, that all Churches in the world ſhall know them to be the beſt, and ſo know them that there may not remain any queſtion about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto ſaid. They themſelves, although reſolved in their own judgments what Ceremonies are beſt, foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted unto be not all ſo clearly and ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are, or may be at leaſtwiſe, when all things are well conſidered, as good, knew not which way ſmoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing ſome more certain rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of uniformity in Ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodneſs; and therefore in this caſe they ſay [a], that the latter Churches, and the fewer, ſhould conform themſelves unto the elder, and the more. Hereupon they conclude, that foraſmuch as all the reformed Churches (ſo far as they know) which are of our confeſſion in Doctrine, have agreed already in the abrogation of divers things which we retain; our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault for not conforming herſelf to thoſe Churches, in that which we cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe which were firſt reformed,) they bring the compariſon of younger daughters conforming themſelves in attire to the example of their elder ſiſters; wherein there is juſt as much ſtrength of reaſon, as in the livery-coats before mentioned. St. Paul, they ſay, noteth it for a

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 183. If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter Churches ſhould conform themſelves to the firſt, &c. and again, The fewer ought to conform themſelves unto the more.

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mark of ſpecial honour, that Epænetus was the firſt man in all Achaia which did embrace the Chriſtian Faith; after the ſame ſort, he toucheth it alſo as a ſpecial pre-eminence of Junia and Andronicus, that in Chriſtianity they were his ancients. The Corinthians he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the Word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man ſhould think that alacrity and forwardneſs in good things doth add nothing unto men's commendation; the two former ſpeeches of St. Paul might lead him to reform his judgment. In like ſort to take down the ſtomach of proud conceited men, that glory as though they were able to ſet all others to ſchool, there can be nothing more fit than ſome ſuch words as the Apoſtle's third ſentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the Church of Corinth to know, that there was no ſuch great odds between them and the reſt of their brethren, that they ſhould think themſelves to be gold, and the reſt to be but copper. He therefore uſeth ſpeech unto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt there both were before you, and are beſides you in the world; ye neither are the fountain from which firſt, nor yet the river into which alone the Word hath flowed.* But although as Epænetus was the firſt man in all Achaia, ſo Corinth had been the firſt Church in the whole world that received Chriſt; the Apoſtle doth not ſhew, that in any kind of things indifferent whatſoever this ſhould have made their example a Law unto all others. Indeed, the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtill as having the force of an example only, and not of a Law. They are effectual to move any Church, unleſs ſome greater thing do hinder, but they bind none, no not though they be many; ſaving only when they are the major part of a general aſſembly, and then their voices being more in number, muſt overſway their judgments who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater

Rom. xvi. 5, 7.

1 Cor. xiv. 36.

half

half is the whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle, each of them by itſelf, their number can purchaſe them no ſuch authority, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquiſh as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weak premiſes, that the retaining of divers things in the Church of England, which other reformed Churches have caſt out, muſt needs argue that we do not well, unleſs we can ſhew that they have done ill[a]; what needed this wreſt to draw out from us an accuſation of foreign Churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them, and to forſake our own courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alleged for confirmation hereof had been found, yet ſeeing they lead no further than only to ſhew, that where we can have no better Ceremonies, theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſty think themſelves to have found out abſolutely the beſt which the wit of men may deviſe, ſo liking their own ſomewhat better than other men's, even becauſe they are their own, they muſt in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection; which if they do, they eaſe us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged, either to condemn them, or elſe to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own ways already be better; and if our own be but equal, the law of common indulgence alloweth us to think them, at the leaſt, half a thought the better becauſe they are our own; which we may very well do and never draw any indictment at all againſt theirs, but think commendably even of them alſo.

[a] T. C. l. iii. p. 183. Our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault, that doth not conform herſelf in that which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.

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14. To leave reformed Churches therefore, and their actions, for him to judge of in whose sight they are as they are; and our desire is, that they may even in his sight be found such, as we ought to endeavour by all means that our own may likewise be; somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of simple declaration concerning the proceedings of the Church of England in these affairs, to the end, that men whose minds are free from those partial constructions, whereby the only name of difference from some other Churches is thought cause sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern whether that we have done be reasonable, yea or no. The Church of England being to alter her received Laws concerning such Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, as had been in former times an hinderance unto piety and religious service of God, was to enter into consideration first, that the change of Laws, especially concerning matter of Religion, must be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is supposed behoveful unto men, proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Laws that have been in former ages established needful in some sort to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient doth not always so continue; and the number of needless Laws unabolished doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true withal it is, that alteration, though it be from worse to better, hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such Laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, Laws of that kind do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a Law, as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining, do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid ourselves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it, with oversight and with error? Farther, if it be a Law which the custom and continual practice of many ages

A declaration of the proceedings of the Church of England, for establishment of things as they are.

ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of men, to alter it, must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt whether any thing be, in itself by nature, either good or evil; and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of Laws, but the weight of so many men's judgments as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto, the weight of that long experience which the world hath had thereof with consent and good liking? So that to change any such Law, must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those grounds whereby all Laws are made effectual. Notwithstanding, we do not deny alteration of Laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the public community of men, and against that good for which human societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the Laws of Heathenish Religion received throughout the whole world, chosen, I grant, they were, (Paul excepted,) the rest ignorant, poor, simple, unschooled altogether, and unlettered men, howbeit, extraordinarily endued with ghostly wisdom from above, before they ever undertook this enterprise; yea, their authority confirmed by miracle, to the end, it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's ambassadors, unto whose sovereign power for all flesh to stoop, for all the kingdoms of the earth to yield themselves willingly conformable in whatsoever should be required, it was their duty. In this case therefore, their oppositions in maintenance of public superstition against Apostolic endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient predecessors, that they must keep *Religiones traditas*,

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the Rites which from age to age had descended, that the Ceremonies of Religion had been ever accounted by so much holier as elder; these and the like allegations in this case were vain and frivolous. Not to stay longer in speech concerning this point, we will conclude, that as the change of such Laws, as have been specified, is necessary, so the evidence that they are such must be great. If we have neither voice from heaven that so pronounceth of them, neither sentence of men grounded upon such manifest and clear proof, that they in whose hands it is to alter them, may likewise infallibly even in heart and conscience judge them so; upon necessity to urge alteration, is to trouble and disturb without necessity. As for arbitrary alterations, when Laws in themselves not simply bad or unmeet, are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better devised be but small, sith the custom of cabinets to alter and change is so evil, no doubt, but to bear a tolerable sore, is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy. Which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprise, whereas change was notwithstanding concluded necessary in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in use, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet sith there are divers ways of abrogating things established, they saw it best to cut off presently such things as might in that sort be extinguished without danger, leaving the rest to be abolished by disusage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of abrogation; so touching the stint or measure thereof, Rites and Ceremonies and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in respect of their quality, or in regard of their number, in the former there could be no doubt or difficulty what should be done, their deliberation in the latter was more

more hard. And therefore in as much as they did resolve to remove only such things of that kind as the Church might best spare, retaining the residue, their whole counsel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindness of those times, or from negligence, or from desire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion, that such things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would seem most favourable, are content to think it possible) from a purpose, [a] *partly the more easily to draw Papists unto the Gospel,* by keeping so many orders still the same with theirs, *and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach whereof they might fear, would ensue upon more thorough alteration*; or howsoever it came to pass, the thing they did is judged evil. But such is the lot of all that deal in public affairs, whether of Church or Commonwealth, that which men list to surmise of their doings, be it good or ill, they must beforehand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore to let go private surmises, whereby the thing in itself is not made either better or worse; if just and allowable reasons might lead them to do as they did, then are all these censures frustrate. Touching Ceremonies harmless therefore in themselves, and hurtful only in respect of number, was it amiss to decree, that those things which were least needful and newliest come, should be the first that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints' days, and of other the like customs, it appeareth they did, till afterwards the form of Common Prayer being perfected, Articles of sound Religion and Discipline agreed upon, Catechisms framed for the needful instruction of youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burdensome to

[a] T. C. l. ii. p. 29. It may well be, their purpose was by that temper of Popish Ceremonies with the Gospel, partly the more easily to draw the Papists to the Gospel, &c. partly to redeem peace thereby.

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the people, or to the ſimple offenſive and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſs, that having this way eaſed the Church, as they thought, of ſuperfluity, they went on till they had plucked up even thoſe things alſo which had taken a great deal ſtronger and deeper root, thoſe things which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harm thereby ariſing, had been to alter unneceſſarily (in their judgments) the ancient received cuſtom of the whole Church, the univerſal practice of the people of God, and thoſe very decrees of our Fathers, which were not only ſet down by agreement of general Councils, but had accordingly been put in ure, and ſo continued in uſe till that very time preſent? True it is, that neither Councils nor cuſtoms, be they never ſo ancient and ſo general, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been inſtituted, which being convenient and good at the firſt, do afterward in proceſs of time wax otherwiſe, we make no doubt but they may be altered: yea, though Councils or cuſtoms general have received them. And therefore it is but a needleſs kind of oppoſition which they make, who thus diſcourſe: *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerved of the Church, which is the uſage of the people of God, and decree of our forefathers; but how can theſe things at any time be varied, which heretofore have been once ordained in ſuch ſort?* Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordained are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily any longer, than till there grow ſome urgent cauſe to ordain the contrary. For there is not any poſitive Law of men, whether it be general or particular, received by formal expreſs conſent, as in Councils, or by ſecret approbation, as in cuſtoms it cometh to paſs; but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerve. Even as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like ſort generally unkept and aboliſhed every

every where. Notwithſtanding, till ſuch things be abolifhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the judgment of St. Auguſtine, who ſaith, *That of things harmleſs, whatſoever there is which the whole Church doth obſerve throughout the world, to argue for any man's immunity from obſerving the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madneſs?* And ſurely, odious it muſt needs have been for one Chriſtian Church to aboliſh that which all had received and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment unto Religion ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the eyes of unpartial men appear ſufficient to clear them from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in fervour of zeal they had removed ſuch things. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable moderation herein uſed hath freed us from being deſervedly ſubject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby as the Church of Rome doth under the colour of love towards thoſe things which be harmleſs, maintain extremely moſt hurtful corruptions; ſo we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extreme even againſt moſt harmleſs ordinances; and as they are obſtinate to retain that which no man of any conſcience is able well to defend, ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent to tear away that, which if our own mouths did condemn, our conſciences would ſtorm and repine thereat. The Romans having baniſhed Tarquinius the Proud, and taken a ſolemn oath that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themſelves, or think that tyranny was thoroughly extinguiſhed, till they had driven one of their Conſuls to depart the city, againſt whom they found not in the world what to object, ſaving only that his name was Tarquin, and that the commonwealth could not ſeem to have recovered perfect freedom a long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remaining. For the Church of England to have done

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done the like, in caſting out papal tyranny and ſuperſtition, to have ſhewed greater willingneſs of accepting the very Ceremonies of the Turk[a], Chriſt's profeſſed enemy, than of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of Rome approveth; to have left not ſo much as the names which the Church of Rome doth give unto things innocent; to have rejected whatſoever that Church doth make account of, be it never ſo harmleſs in itſelf, and of never ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof to be uſed by the Church of Rome, and not to be commanded in the Word of God: this kind of proceeding might happily have pleaſed ſome few men, who having begun ſuch a courſe themſelves, muſt needs be glad to ſee their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wiſdom, and inſpireth with right underſtanding whomſoever it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which man's wit had never been able to reach unto, namely, what tragedies the attempt of ſo extreme alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian world, did for the endleſs good of his Church (as we cannot chooſe but interpret it) uſe the bridle of his provident reſtraining hand to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution upon a courſe more calm and moderate; leſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing dominions it hath ſince fallen out, ſo likewiſe, if in ours it had come to paſs, that the adverſe part being enraged, and betaking itſelf to ſuch practices as men are commonly wont to embrace when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope left to ſee any other end than only the utter oppreſſion and clean extinguiſhment on one ſide; by this means Chriſtendom flaming in all parts of greateſt import-

[a] T. C. l. i. p. 131. For indeed it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near.

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ance at once, they all had wanted that comfort and mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time ſuſtained, (and not the leaſt by this our Church which they ſo much impeach,) till mutual combuſtions, bloodſheds, and waſtes (becauſe no other inducements will ſerve) may enforce them through very faintneſs, after the experience of ſo endleſs miſeries, to enter on all ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation as may tend to the beſt re-eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Jeſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good whereof, it cannot but ſerve as a profitable direction, to teach men what is moſt likely to prove available, when they ſhall quietly conſider the trial that hath been thus long had of both kinds of reformation; as well this moderate kind which the Church of England hath taken, as that other more extreme and rigorous which certain Churches elſewhere have better liked. In the mean while it may be, that ſuſpenſe of judgment and exerciſe of charity were ſafer and ſeemlier for Chriſtian men, than the hot purſuit of theſe controverſies, wherein they that are more fervent to diſpute be not always the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide, and who againſt him, our Lord in his good time ſhall reveal. And ſith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themſelves be forgotten. When the ruins of the Houſe of God (that Houſe which conſiſting of religious ſouls, is moſt immediately the precious temple of the Holy Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole world ſo exceeding great, that very Superſtition began even to feel itſelf too far grown; the firſt that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, by beheading Superſtition, was King Henry the Eighth, the ſon and ſucceſſor of which famous King, as we know, was Edward the ſaint; in whom (for ſo by the event we may gather) it pleaſed God righteous and juſt to let England ſee, what a bleſſing ſin and iniquity would not ſuffer it

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to enjoy. Howbeit, that which the Wiſeman hath ſaid concerning Enoch, (whoſe days were, though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarce, at three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whom he lived,) the ſame to that admirable child moſt worthily may be applied, *Though he departed this world ſoon, yet fulfilled he much time.* But what enſued? that work which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo far proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo overthrown, as if almoſt it had never been: till ſuch time as that God, whoſe property is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neareſt to be utterly deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darkneſs a moſt glorious Star to ariſe, and on her head ſettled the crown, whom himſelf had kept as a lamb from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloody times; that the experience of his goodneſs in her own deliverance might cauſe her merciful diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſaving others whom the like neceſſity ſhould preſs. What in this behalf hath been done towards nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendom moſt afflicted can beſt teſtify. That which eſpecially concerneth ourſelves in the preſent matter we treat of is, the ſtate of reformed Religion, a thing at her coming to the crown, even raiſed, as it were, by miracle from the dead; a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that even they which beheld it done, ſcarcely believed their own ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſs, thus many years it hath continued ſtanding by no other worldly mean, but that one only hand which erected it; that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cauſe at the firſt to withhold itſelf, ſo neither have the practices, ſo many, ſo bloody, following ſince, been ever able to make weary. Nor can we ſay in this caſe ſo juſtly, that Aaron and Hur, the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil ſtates, have ſuſtained the hand which did lift itſelf to Heaven for them; as that Heaven itſelf hath by this hand ſuſtained them, no aid or help having

thereunto

thereunto been miniſtered for performance of the work of reformation, other than ſuch kind of help or aid as the Angel in the Prophet Zechariah ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither by an army, nor ſtrength, but by my Spirit, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Which grace and favour of divine aſſiſtance, having not in one thing or two ſhewed itſelf, nor for ſome few days or years appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſins and tranſgreſſions ſtriving to the contrary; what can we leſs thereupon conclude, than that God would at leaſtwiſe by tract of time teach the world, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth ſo ſtrangely, cannot chooſe but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuſe to believe us diſputing for the verity of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them believe God himſelf thus miraculouſly working for it, and wiſh life, even for ever and ever, unto that glorious and ſacred inſtrument whereby he worketh.

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